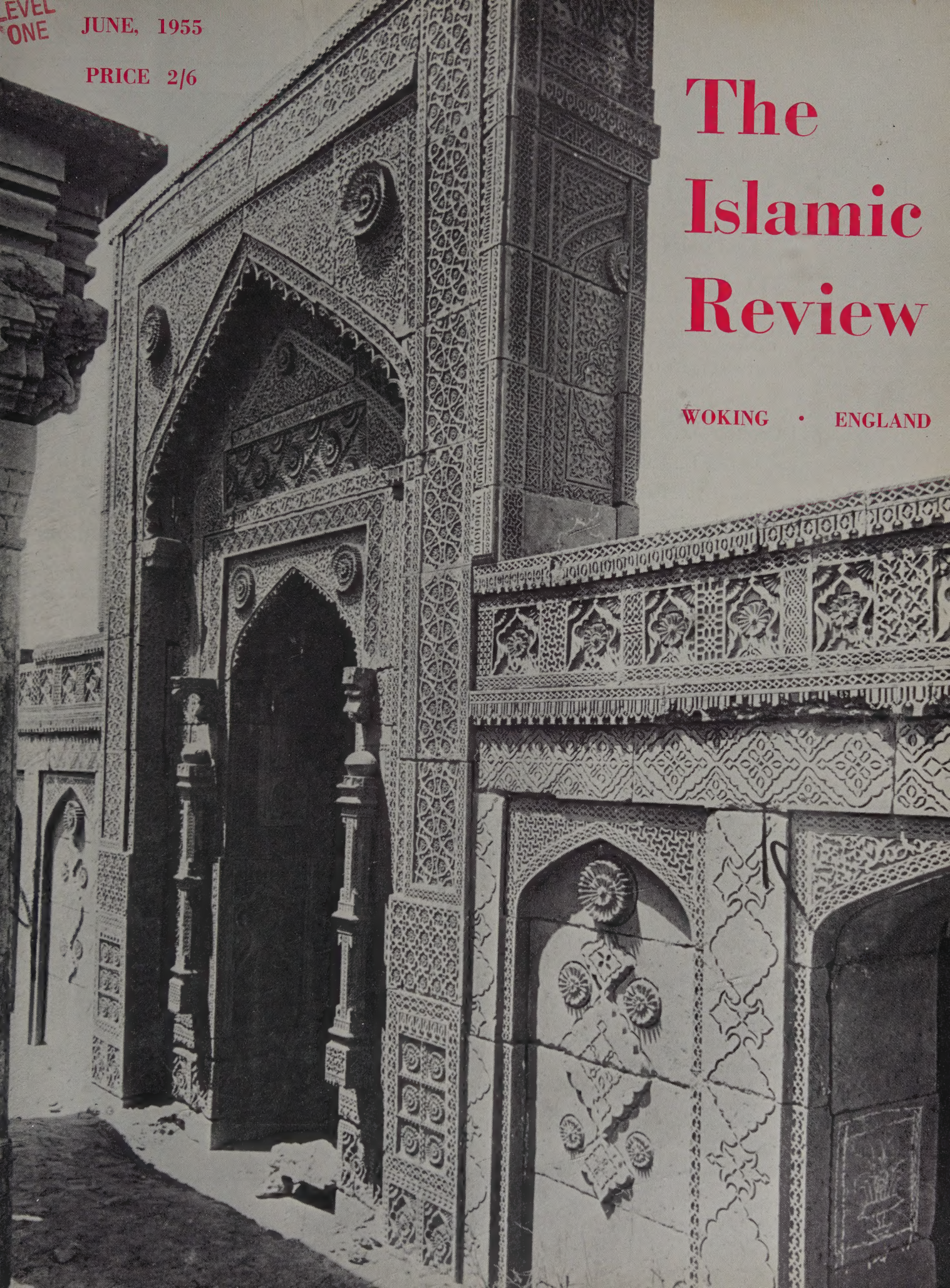


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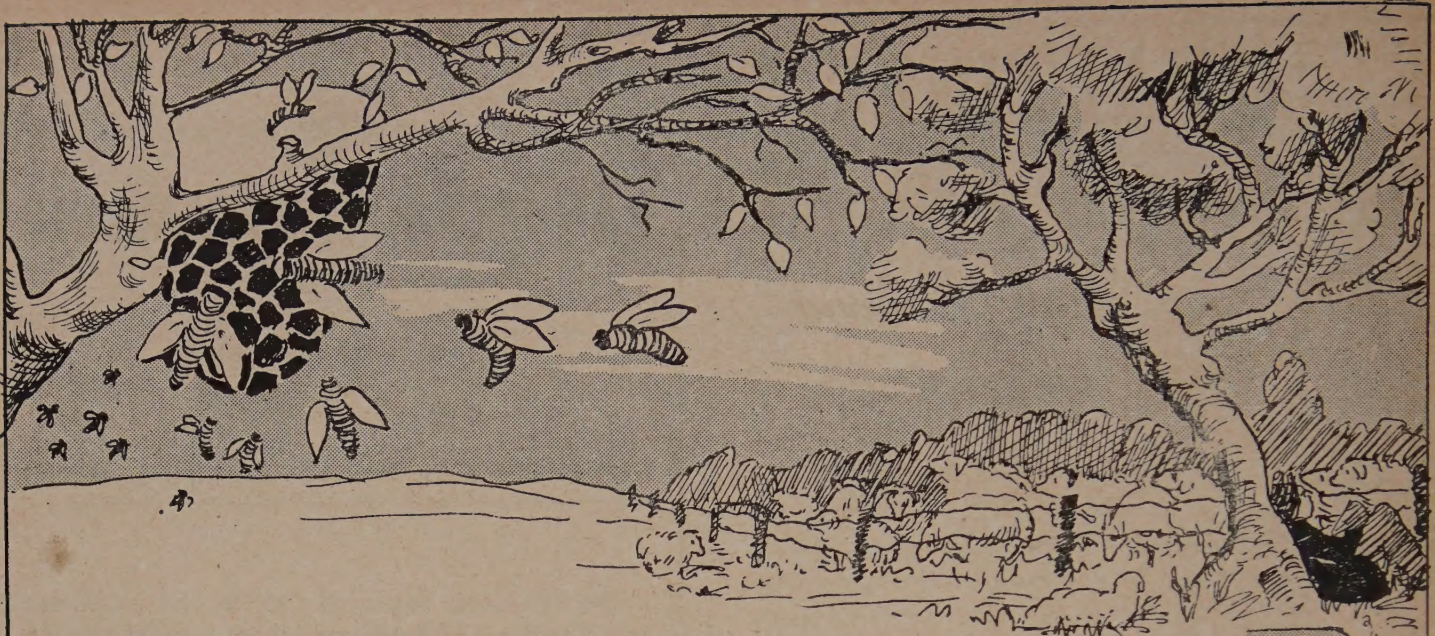
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The late al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (1870-1932 C.E.), the Founder of Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, was the first Muslim in modern times who conceived the idea of propounding the message of Islam to the West in an organized way. He accordingly came to England in 1912 and later established his headquarters at the Mosque (later to be named by him The Shah Jehan Mosque), Woking.

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The Islamic Review

JUNE : 1955

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JUNE, 1955

Shawwal — Zu 'l-Qa'dah 1374 A.H.

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE AND ISLAM

Support for Palestine and North Africa

The Arabs and the Muslims won a big victory at the Afro-Asian Conference which met at Bandung in Indonesia during April 1955. The representatives of 29 African and Asian States meeting there declared unanimous support for two important Arab and Muslim issues — Palestine and French North Africa. By maintaining a united front, the eight Arab delegations at the Conference made sure of this remarkable victory. The fact that two staunch friends of Israel — Turkey and Burma — finally had to fall in line with the majority of the delegates attending the Conference reflected the significance of the success of the Arab effort and the setback suffered by Israel which was not invited to the Conference.

An example of the strength of feeling amongst the delegates at the Conference, who represented more than half the world's population, against the subjection of colonized peoples was the support given to the North African problem, on which there appeared greater unanimity than on anything else. The rights of the people of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria were restated twice in resolutions and backed by countries as diverse in outlook as Turkey and Communist China.

The support given to the Arabs on Palestine was clear and unequivocal. This was the result of zealous good work done by the delegates of both Arab and Muslim countries at the Conference. A passionate appeal sent to the Conference by the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Arab Refugees at Gaza also helped. The appeal said:

"The Arab people of Palestine, who have been victims of pitiless Imperialistic principles, appeal to those who are meeting to work for the welfare and happiness of humanity, to seriously consider and justly investigate our case and most pitiable condition. Our patrons are the Arab States and Egypt, represented by its iron man, Premier Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, and his colleagues, in whom we have full confidence and great faith to defend our case most heroically at your Conference and everywhere . . . Is it possible for a condemned people to have their cries and shouts attentively heard at your Conference? The groans and sighs of the homeless, hungry, penniless victims come through the air to the Con-

ference held by the politicians of the largest part of the world, to a Conference, the aims of which are most noble and praiseworthy — the safety and security of humanity and the preservation of freedoms already usurped by inhuman, beastly and brutal invaders . . . Your conscience has been awakened by the oppressed bloody humanity. You have responded to the shrieks of human beings, who have been suffering the horrors of lost freedom, rights and peaceful life . . . The worst example of injustice committed by Imperialism and Zionism in the twentieth century is the destruction of the peaceful Arab people of Palestine, who have been driven out of their homes and left an easy prey to ruthless extermination and eradication . . . How long will Imperialism continue to devastate and damage? When will its barbaric methods be checked and cease to exist? Where are they who propagate the rights of man and pretend to defend them . . . ? Ye Politicians of the Conference! Pass sound decisions, which help to spread justice and propagate it honestly, to release and return lost freedoms and usurped right . . . Give Imperialism and those behind it a coup de grâce . . . The eyes of the peoples of the world are all directed on your Conference — prove to them that you are the real defenders of justice and peace . . . Let us in to a new era of peace and justice; let the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity flower and flourish side by side all over the world; let us have a new world, a world of peace, love and justice . . . And never forget our beloved home — Palestine . . . !"

The final communiqué issued by the Conference on Palestine and North Africa had this to say:

"In view of the existing tension in the Middle East caused by the situation in Palestine, and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Conference declares its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and calls for implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question . . . Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urges the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay . . ."

The Conference also supported the Yemen's request for the transfer of the Aden Protectorates now being occupied by the British.

Colonialism and "peaceful co-existence" between nations professing conflicting political or other ideologies were also discussed at the Conference. The view which seemed to be predominant at the Conference was that colonialism — whether it be of the traditional Western style or the new Cominform style — was a menace to peace.

A Historic Conference

This meeting between representatives of Asian and African countries will rank in history as one of the most important political events since the end of World War II. "I have never seen a body of men animated by a finer sense of honest purpose," was the remark made by one delegate about the Conference, and he really summed up the final opinion of the delegates. They felt — and this will undoubtedly affect their future attitude — that it was easier for Asian and African nations to overcome differences at such a conference than at the United Nations Assembly, dominated as it is by few Western Powers. Some of the fundamental feelings of Asia and Africa became clear at the Conference. The delegates were animated by a deep fear of war, a strong desire for peace and, above all, by a great revulsion against the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. It was also made clear that the nations represented at the Conference, most of which have newly emerged from colonial régimes, were sincerely opposed to colonialism in

every form. Even the ideological conflict over the resolutions put forward to the Conference on the subject of colonialism, which derived from those who wanted to make sure that Soviet colonialism should be included in all-round condemnation, was an expression of the abiding resistance to the subjection of people under any shape or form.

Many of the Arab and Muslim delegates to the Conference received invitations to visit other Asian countries. There was a great and intimate get-together between the various delegates, and the cause of greater understanding and more solid friendship between the Asian and African nations represented at the Conference is likely to be furthered by the exchange of such visits. Of particular interest to the Muslims will be the visit which the Egyptian Minister of *Wakfs* (Religious Trusts), the Shaikh Hasan al-Baquri, will be undertaking in Communist China. He has been invited by the Chinese Prime Minister to acquaint himself with the conditions of Communist China's fifty million Muslims. The Muslim world will await anxiously for the report of the Shaikh al-Baquri on this subject, for very little is known about this great mass of Muslims except what comes out every now and then from the Communist propaganda machine.

Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt, was generally acclaimed as the hero of the Conference on the Arab side. He made a great impact on the Conference.

THE BEAUTIES OF THE BOSPHORUS, TURKEY

We gazed in awe at the wonderful views,
Watched the rhythm of the fishermen crews;
Whilst dancing waves lapped at the shore,
Like drunkards we wished for more.
Intoxicating honey-suckle scent,
Roses, amongst others, lent
Their beauty to grace these waters of the Bosphorus.

Palaces, wondrous and fair,
Built with such infinite care;
Mosques with domes and minarets,
Kiosks and gardens, late Sultans' pets.
Churches Armenian, Greek and others.
Caiques filled with foreign lovers
Lend their beauty to grace these waters of the Bosphorus.

The morning cry of the wheeling gull,
The song of the nightingale when 'tis dull,
The distant tune from a shepherd's flute,
The uproar of cattle which then grow mute,
The cry of the muezzin, "God is Great!"
The dolphins in chase seeking a mate,
Add charm to grace these waters of the Bosphorus.

To the West behind a Holy Place¹
The Golden Sun hides his face;
Glowing waters blaze up like flames,
Eastern hillsides stake their claims,
As do the West, shadowed and pale —
But mourn, in their glory hearty and hail,
To charm these waters of the Bosphorus.

Stars twinkle down upon this neck,²
The sunset yet adds a crimson fleck;
But the moon, romantic as she is,
Captured by wavelets gives added bliss.
And twixt the rising of the tides
Warm air may caress or cold chastise
These beautiful, charmed waters of
THE BOSPHORUS.

HAROLD R. BATTERSBY, F.R.A.S.

1 Süleymaniye Mosque.
2 The Straits.

THE QUR'ANIC CONCEPTION OF RELIGION

by the late al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din

The late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din

The pre-Qur'anic conception of religion

It is not a matter for surprise if the pre-Islamic conception of religion should have caused a feeling of revolt among cultured people. They think that our passions of hope and fear have led us to believe in the existence of a Deity. We sometimes find our efforts thwarted, and we fail, from unknown causes, to obtain the object of our pursuit; on the other hand, we make gains on other occasions without any effort on our part. In both cases we fail to discover any apparent cause, and are thus led to believe that our welfare and mishaps come to us through agencies beyond our control. Our ignorance, however, ascribes it all to the anger or pleasure of some Unknown Being, Who eventually becomes the object of our worship. We pray to Him for gain, and entreat Him to save us from loss. Indeed, all this occurs to us in pursuance of certain laws working in nature. They are unchangeable, and are for ever at work. Our ignorance of or our disobedience to them produces all that happens to us, but we erroneously look to some imaginary Deity as the Creator of such vicissitudes in life. Had we discovered all the laws of nature and respected them, everything would have gone to our satisfaction, and we should have been saved from the burden of religion.

It is, however, interesting to note that the conception of religion propounded by Islam is somewhat akin to what has been argued on the above lines by anti-religionists. The Holy Book speaks of such an Unseen Being as God, Who neither needs our worship nor obeisance.¹

The Qur'anic way of impressing on us the belief in our Creator

His worship, according to the Qur'an, consists in our obeying His laws, which are found in nature. The whole world seems to be in the hand of a governor who administers it under a system of set laws. Laws in nature compelled science to believe in the existence of the Unseen. It had, however, to pass through several stages of research before that belief dawned upon its votaries. These laws were evolved to serve some preconceived end. They went in their prescribed course to work out a certain specified design which,



working, also evinced marvellous intellect and a vast knowledge of the properties of things, as well as of the proportions in which they become combined under various collocations. But the whole affair did demand a strong ruling hand, Who worked with proprietary rights in them to bring out the desired results. These seven things — Law, Monism, Evolution, Design, Intellect, Knowledge and Proprietary Command — when observed as working conjointly in the world, could not but establish the existence of the Great Almighty.

Science bowed before God. He was the first intelligent cause of Spencer, and the God of the Qur'an. The Book made up in this respect a great deficiency existing in the old scriptures. How could we think of God if we had no belief in His existence? We were intelligent beings, and assertive theology held no appeal for us. But the Qur'an repeatedly sets before our intelligent observation various phenomena of nature that compel the human mind to believe in its Creator. The Book teems with logic and reason in this respect, but I would speak of three things that appeal to me chiefly.

(1) The process of creation.² Things remain appearing and disappearing; they come to existence, and become destroyed after reaching their perfection;³ they go on automatically on their course and find everything already in existence to meet their wants. The whole process proceeds with mathematical precision and mechanical regularity under a most capable and vigilant supervision. How could it take place without some competent engineer to direct it?

(2) There exists a most wonderful relation in everything. All things take attitudes supplementary or complementary towards each other, though they exist in different provinces of nature. For example, all that descends from the sky in the form of light, heat, etc., would be of no avail if the earth had not the power of receptivity. She receives them

and becomes conceived of innumerable things which she has brought forth gradually to our use. Activity and passivity are always at work everywhere, and relation between things located so distantly from each other could not be a matter of accident.

(3) Man is admittedly a worshipping animal. We crave for an object of adoration: we may bow down before a stone, or prostrate ourselves before the Unseen, but we all respond to a life tendency. Buddhists, with their atheistic bent of mind, pay the same homage to Buddha's images as we do to God. Even an atheist worships law. If the God of Culture is the God of Law, and we on the other hand cannot avail ourselves of anything without obeying it — nay, we cannot live for a moment without our allegiance to law — how can we dispense with a creed or code of life that preaches to us the very religion of nature, the religion of "commandment and obedience"? The Qur'an speaks of the generation of prophets. They appeared from time to time, and brought messages from the Lord to their people. Each and all of them repeatedly enjoined upon mankind one message⁴ — to obey God, and to worship *Rabb* — the Creator, Nourisher, Maintainer and Evolver of the Universe.

A few of the characteristics common to the lives of the messengers of God

The same message has been given to us in the Qur'an. It does not demand from us that we place effigies and images of God and *Rabb* in our shrines and bow down before them, that would be mere mockery. The Muslims no doubt do bow down and prostrate themselves before the Unseen, but that is merely the sign of their willingness to bow down to His will, the law of the atheist. God, as the Qur'an says, is the source of all laws in general, while *Rabb* frames such laws as are observed by nature in the creation and maintenance of things, from the first stage up to their perfection. Religion, in its true shape, comes to support some of the said laws, it goads us to their observance. Islam, then, is the creed of the so-called anti-religionist. It is not in our eating and drinking and performance of nuptial rites that all our duties and obligations become exhausted. Animals do the same. We have various faculties in us to be developed, and true civilization lies in their fruition. Some of them develop here, but others remain in abeyance. There must be some life after death to bring all our faculties to perfection. Every one of the blessed race that claimed to have brought the Divine Message to the human race preached of the hereafter, and we find the following characteristics in the lives of all of them:

(1) They speak favourably, and forcibly too, as to the truth of their message—history bears witness to these things.

(2) They all appeared at a time when their people had become demoralized and led a luxurious life that paved the way to destruction.

(3) They held a good social standing, and led a decent life of purity before they spoke of the religion which they preached, and came suddenly to it as though in response to a call.

(4) They did not make a trade of their teaching; they did not ask any remuneration for it. They lost even what they had before — the position as well as occupation of life.

(5) They were successful in the end, to the total discomfiture and even destruction of their adversaries.

(6) They were neither a class of soothsayers nor teachers of dogmatic principles. They spoke in plain language, and their teaching had a direct bearing upon human life. They came with reason and logic, and emphasized a course of life conducive to good here and in the hereafter.

Why and how the Qur'an speaks of the life after death

I find the same in the Qur'an. Muhammad never thought of his personal aggrandisement. The entire Book speaks of logic and reason.⁵ It does not tell always of transcendental things, but often preaches simple morality and ethics, which, though most necessary, people do not always care to practise.

We often lack things we know not, and it causes trouble. Fornication is the chief curse; the Qur'an not only forbids it, but warns us against our doing such things as may tend to that evil, though they may be the vogue in society. The Book demands from us, not that we shun this evil only, but that we do not go near it. We do not, doubtless, commit infanticide, but we create the same results in the form of birth-control, to prevent which crime the Qur'an was the first to raise its voice. In short, we do any wrong that is likely to avoid detection, but if we believe in some coming Day of Judgment we must needs cut a different figure.

The whole question turns on the existence of the future life. It is, of course, an intricate problem, but the observation of things around us and the long evolutionary journey which the ethereal world has had to travel up to the stage of human consciousness, under the wise guidance of the Originator and Designer, clearly show that the human frame, in its material form, cannot be the final stage of that journey. The Qur'an speaks of it in a most illuminating way, carrying us to the very commencement of the universe. It speaks of the first formation of the heavens and the earth within the seven periods⁶ of gradation. Space was then full of vapours⁷ and gases, when another gaseous matter, hot like fire,⁸ that floated in space assumed the form of the earth in its nascent condition.

The heaven and the earth were at that time a closed thing, with various matters in them in a confused and mixed condition. The water then came to open that which was closed. It also brought life on the earth.⁹ The earth, as the Qur'an says, was full of quaking in the beginning. The mountains and rocks were created to make it steady. The spaces of the earth had wide ways to enable its future denizens to follow the right course.¹⁰ The space above was similarly decorated with shining lamps to guide them in the darkness.¹¹ The water came from the clouds in a measure¹² sufficient to move the dead matter.¹³ It settled down in the earth and brought forth verdure and vegetation.¹⁴ It made gardens of fruits¹⁵ and flowers, with varieties of grain to serve for our subsistence.¹⁶ It was for this purpose that days and nights were made with alternations in them which moved the winds and brought forth clouds.¹⁷ The winds also floated ships and boats that enriched us with the treasures of the sea. If the days are for enabling us to engage in various occupations in life,¹⁸ the nights are made for our rest and to refresh us for the coming day. The Qur'an also refers to our own creation, and tells how the various products of the earth became combined under various specializations to evolve the genital seed as her essence.¹⁹ It became located in woman's womb, where it passed through another seven stages of evolution,²⁰ and gave rise to a new creation — our consciousness. Moreover, the earth brought forth various cattle for our use and sustenance,²¹ and the Qur'an speaks emphatically also of the subservience of the whole of the universe²² to our needs, and of various other gifts to us, numberless and beyond imagination.²³ In short, whatever we may need has already been produced. The designer of the whole scheme, which took Him millions of years to accomplish, must have some true purpose before Him.²⁴ It could not have been all in vain.²⁵ It was made as though for the purpose of receiving and accommodating some person of dignity.²⁶ This person was no other

than man himself — God's own vicegerent.²⁷ The Qur'an came to raise him, and exalt him to that state of honour.²⁸ If we had to live on the earth only for sixty or seventy years and then cease utterly to be, would it not then have been mere sport on the part of God²⁹ our Lord? Was this much ado in vain?³⁰ It must be purposeful as every other thing in His creation shows, which purpose could not be materialized unless there be continuity of our life, when we shall make further progress in the realms beyond the grave. The Qur'an speaks repeatedly of the life after death. It makes it an article of faith for us. The Qur'an also makes mention of the various grades³¹ of evolution through which we have to pass, and these grades have been styled by it "the seven heavens". Had we been labouring under the old mode of thinking, like an atheist, taking the creation of the universe and its components as a matter of accident, we could say (as the Qur'an quotes the unbelievers as saying) that there is nothing but our life in this, we live and die, and nothing destroys us but time and accident. But science has now revolutionized our convictions; we look at everything from a different angle; we see design everywhere, and every substance is ruled by unchangeable laws; we look to man as a "mighty atom" on the earth. His creation seems to us to have been designed from the very commencement of the nebular world which is still developing into the organized kingdom,³² nay, numerous other things came into existence even before the nebular world, to work out the said design. Was it all a matter of sport if we had only to live for a brief space of time and then to disappear for ever? That is to give the lie to the Creator of the Universe, and to find fault with nature that seems so perfect and free from all flaw.³³ Then, how about the various products of the earth, say in the form of fruits, flowers and cattle, that exist for our exclusive use? They took thousands of years before they were ready for us to use; was it all only for a creation that came but to eat, drink, and be merry, and that again for such a little while when compared with the age of the universe? It would be an insult to our intelligence if we were so to believe. There must be a great future before us, and this short life of ours has been given to us as a period of preparation before we enter into the vast realm of wonderful possibilities and probabilities. How gracious of God, the Most Merciful Lord, to shorten our stay here and hasten our entering into eternal bliss!

I should recommend my readers to read in this connection the first section of chapter 78, as well as 80:24-42, 32:12-16, 76:5-7, and 22:5 from the Qur'an.

The growth of various occult powers depend on the life hereafter

The present, in every sphere, is admittedly the mother of the future. The welfare or the trouble of the coming days must depend upon our present actions. We are in another embryonic condition here, and have to be born in other regions beyond the grave. If good conditions of a womb-life bring forth a healthy child, we are again in a new womb for the hereafter. If all the faculties inherent in all other things cannot remain without coming to the surface, and they change their conditions and environments to achieve that end, our case also must be the same. Those of our faculties that do remain latent here in this life must have some future life and new environment for their growth, otherwise the whole scheme of creation, as far as we are concerned, is missed. Consciousness exists in the vegetable kingdom, but it comes into prominence when transferred to the human body. So will be the growth of our various occult powers in the coming world.

Religion is essential for our guidance; for man, like the animal, has no instinct of knowledge

If the Lord of nature has given a code of life to all things in nature for their thriving in the form of their respective instincts, and the said code acts for them as their religion, the Qur'an brings us that religion for our guidance, as we do not find any instinct of knowledge in us. We have a capability to acquire knowledge, but we do not bring it from the womb; we cannot distinguish between the beneficial and the baneful by instinct as the rest of nature does, we have to learn the required knowledge. The world was not without its revelations from God for this purpose at the advent of the Prophet, but these had lost their original purity at that time. The Qur'an herefore come to confirm knowledge already received, but it differed from the other scriptures in spirit and form. It was neither a treatise on ritualism, like the *Rig Veda*, the Hindu sacred book, nor was it a tribal record, like the Bible. It spoke of ceremonial piety, and declared it only a means³⁴ to attain higher ends. It narrated certain historical events, but only to illustrate some of the principles it inculcated.

The purpose of the Qur'an is to perfect our faculties

The Qur'an came to help in bringing our faculties to perfection. It came to make us the ideal man. It did not come to teach us to exalt the deity by repeating words,³⁵ but it was sent, at its revelation, to elevate a humanity which bordered on animality. The word of God came to raise that humanity nearer to the Divine. Islam was not preached to exact from us any adoration for God in the current sense of the word, but it taught us that His adoration is to remind us of that ideal state of life that befits us as His lieutenants on earth. Our attention is not drawn to His grandeur and beauty because they are His, but we are told of them in order to possess them ourselves.

In His different attributes, as stated in the Qur'an, we are given an insight into that Divine resplendence that should also halo us. No doubt we have to keep Him always before us, but in glorifying Him we have also to think of the ideal of man in us. Our glorification of the Lord must consist in our edification to Divine glory. The Qur'an declares this to be the objective of³⁶ religion it teaches, while it calls it Islam in its subjective form. Islam means our following such laws as would help us to cultivate our faculties so that they attain their best growth. For this reason the Qur'an makes mention of the hundred names of God. These attributes refer to His ways of work in nature, and have been revealed to us that we may make them our prototype.

REFERENCES

- 1 And certainly We gave wisdom to Luqman, saying: "Be grateful to God. And whoever is grateful, he is only grateful for his own soul; and whoever is ungrateful, then surely God is Self-sufficient, Praised" (The Qur'an, 31:12).
- 2 "Read in the name of your Lord who created." "He created man from a clot." "Read and your Lord is Most Honourable." "Who taught (to write) with the pen." "Taught man what he knew not" (The Qur'an, 96:1-5).
"Glorify the name of your Lord, the Most High," "Who creates, then makes complete," "And who makes (things) according to a measure, then guides (them to their goal)" (Ibid., 87:1-3).
"He, Whose is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and Who did not take to Himself a son, and Who has no associate in the kingdom, and Who created every thing, then ordained for it a measure" (Ibid., 25:2).
"Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth! How could He have a son when He has no consort, and He (Himself) created every thing, and He is the Knower of all things!" (Ibid., 6:102).
"Wonderful Originator of the heavens and the earth, and when He decrees an affair, He only says to it, Be, so there it is" (Ibid., 2:117).
- 3 "Who created the seven heavens alike; you see no incongruity

- in the creation of the Beneficent God; then look again, can you see any disorder?" "Then turn back the eye again and again; your look shall come back to you confused while it is fatigued" (Ibid., 67:3-4).
- "Every one on it must pass away." "And there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour" (Ibid., 55:26-27).
- "And call not with God any other god; there is no god but He; every thing is perishable but He; His is the judgment, and to Him you shall be brought back" (Ibid., 28:88).
- 4 Muhammad 'Ali's translation of the Qur'an, 7, sections 9-12.
- 5 "O people! surely there has come to you manifest proof from your Lord and We have sent to you clear light" (The Qur'an, 4:175).
- 6 "He it is who created for you all that is in the earth, and He directed Himself to the heaven, so He made them complete seven heavens, and He knows all things" (The Qur'an, 2:29).
- "And certainly We made above you seven ways; and never are We heedless of creation" (Ibid., 23:17).
- "And We made above you seven strong ones" (Ibid., 78:12).
- 7 "Then He directed Himself to the heaven and it is a vapour" (The Qur'an, 61:11).
- 8 "And the jinn We created before of intensely hot fire" (The Qur'an, 15:27).
- 9 "Do not those who disbelieve see that the heavens and the earth were closed up, but We have opened them; and We have made of water every thing living; will they not then believe" (The Qur'an, 21:30).
- 10 "And We have made great mountains in the earth lest it might be convulsed with them, and We have made in it wide ways that they may follow a right direction" (The Qur'an, 21:31).
- 11 "And We made a shining lamp" (The Qur'an, 78:13).
- "And certainly We have made strongholds in the heaven and We have made it fairseeming to the beholders" (Ibid., 15:16).
- 12 "And We send down water from the cloud according to a measure, then We cause it to settle in the earth, and most surely We are able to carry it away" (The Qur'an, 23:18).
- 13 "And you see the earth sterile land, but when We send down on it the water, it stirs and swells and brings forth of every kind a beautiful herbage" (The Qur'an, 22:5).
- 14 The Qur'an, 22:5.
- 15 "Then We cause to grow thereby gardens of palm-trees and grapes for you; you have in them many fruits and from them do you eat" (The Qur'an, 23:19).
- "God is He who created the heavens and the earth and sent down water from the clouds, then brought forth with it fruits as a sustenance for you, and He has made the ships subservient to you, that they might run their course in the sea by His command, and He has made the rivers subservient to you" (Ibid., 14:32).
- "That We may bring forth thereby corn and herbs" (Ibid., 78:15).
- 16 "Who made the earth a resting-place for you and the heaven a structure, and (Who) sends down rain from the cloud, then brings forth with it subsistence for you of the fruits; therefore do not set up rivals to God while you know" (The Qur'an, 2:22).
- 17 "Most surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the day and the night, and the ships that run in the sea with that which profits man, and the water that God sends from the cloud, then gives life with it to the earth after its death and spreads in it all (kinds of) animals, and the changing of the winds and the clouds made subservient between the heaven and the earth, there are signs for a people who understand" (The Qur'an, 2:164).
- "And (in) the variation of the night and the day, and (in) what God sends down of sustenance from the cloud, then gives life thereby to the earth after its death, and (in) the changing of the winds, there are signs for a people who understand" (Ibid., 45:5).
- "God is He who made subservient to you the sea that the ships may run therein by His command, and that you may seek of His grace, and that you may give thanks" (Ibid., 45:12).
- 18 "And We made the night to be a covering." "And We made the day for seeking livelihood" (The Qur'an, 78:10-11).
- 19 "And certainly We created man of an extract of clay" (The Qur'an, 23:12).
- 20 "Then We made him a small life-germ in a firm resting-place." "Then We made the life-germ a clot, then We made the clot a lump of flesh, then We made (in) the lump of flesh bones, then We clothed the bones with flesh, then We caused it to grow into another creation, so blessed be God, the best of the creators" (The Qur'an, 23:13-14).
- 21 "God is He who made the cattle for you that you may ride on some of them, and some of them you eat." "And there are advantages for you in them, and that you may attain thereon a want which is in your breasts, and upon them and upon the ships you are borne" (The Qur'an, 40:79-80).
- "And in your (own) creation and in what He spreads abroad of animals there are signs for a people that are sure" (Ibid., 45:4).
- 22 "God is He who created the heavens and the earth and sent down water from the clouds, then brought forth with it fruits as a sustenance for you, and He has made the ships subservient to you, that they might run their course in the sea by His command, and He has made the rivers subservient to you." "And He has made subservient to you the sun and the moon pursuing their courses, and He has made subservient to you the night and the day" (The Qur'an, 14:32-33).
- "He it is who sends down water from the cloud for you; it gives drink, and by it (grow) the trees upon which you pasture." "He causes to grow for you thereby herbage, and the olives, and the palm-trees, and the grapes, and of all the fruits; most surely there is a sign in this for a people who reflect." "And He has made subservient for you the night and the day and the sun and the moon, and the stars are made subservient by His commandment; most surely there are signs in this for a people who ponder" "And what He has created in the earth of varied hues; most surely there is a sign in this for a people who are mindful." "And He it is who has made the sea subservient that you may eat fresh flesh from it and bring forth from it ornaments which you wear, and you see the ships cleaving through it, and that you might seek of His bounty and that you may give thanks." "And He has cast great mountains in the earth lest it might be convulsed with you, and rivers and roads that you may go aright," "And landmarks; and by the stars they find the right way." "Is He then Who creates like him who does not create? Do you not then mind?" "And if you would count God's favours, you will not be able to number them; most surely God is Forgiving, Merciful" (Ibid., 16, section 2).
- 23 "And He gives you of all that you ask Him; and if you count God's favours, you will not be able to number them; most surely man is very unjust, very ungrateful" (The Qur'an, 14:34).
- 24 "Most surely in the heavens and the earth there are signs for the believers" (The Qur'an, 45:3).
- 25 "He created the heavens and the earth with the truth, highly exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)" (The Qur'an, 14:3).
- "And We did not create the heaven and the earth and what is between them for sport" (Ibid., 21:16; 44:38).
- 26 "And surely We have dignified the children of Adam, and We carry them in the land and the sea, and We have given them of the good things, and We have made them to excel, by a (high) degree of excellence, most of those whom We have created" (The Qur'an, 17:70).
- 27 "And when your Lord said to the angels, I am going to place in the earth one who shall rule (in it), they said: What! Wilt Thou place in it such as shall make mischief in it and shed blood, and we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness? He said: Surely I know what you do not know" (The Qur'an, 2:30).
- 28 "And exalted for you your eminence" (The Qur'an, 94:4).
- 29 "And We did not create the heaven and the earth and what is between them for sport" (The Qur'an, 21:16; 44:38).
- 30 "He created the heavens and the earth with the truth, highly exalted be He above what they associate (with Him)" (The Qur'an, 16:3).
- 31 "That you shall most certainly enter one state after another" (The Qur'an, 84:19).
- 32 "And certainly We made above you seven ways; and never are We heedless of creation" (The Qur'an, 23:17).
- 33 "Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth declares the glory of God, the King, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wise" (The Qur'an, 42:1).
- 34 "O you who believe! fasting is prescribed for you, as it was prescribed for those before you, so that you may guard (against evil)" (The Qur'an, 2:183).
- "Recite that which has been revealed to you of the Book and keep up prayer; surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil, and certainly the remembrance of God is the greatest, and God knows what you do" (Ibid., 29:45).
- "There is no blame on you for seeking bounty from your Lord, so when you hasten on from 'Arafat, then remember God near the holy monument, and remember Him as He has guided you, though before that you were certainly of the erring ones" (Ibid., 2:198).
- "That they may witness advantages for them and mention the name of God during stated days over what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds, then eat of them and feed the distressed one, the needy" (Ibid., 22:28).

"Alms are only for the poor and the needy, and the officials (appointed) over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline (to truth) and the (ransoming of) captives and those in debt and in the way of God and the wayfarer: an ordinance from God; and God is Knowing, Wise" (Ibid., 9:60).
 "Take alms out of their property, you would cleanse them and purify them thereby, and pray for them; surely your prayer is a relief to them; and God is Hearing, Knowing" (Ibid., 9:103).

35 "And certainly We gave wisdom to Luqman, saying: Be grateful to God. And whoever is grateful, he is only grateful for his own soul; and whoever is ungrateful, then surely God is Self-sufficient, Praised" (The Qur'an, 31:12).

36 "And the same did Abraham enjoin on his sons and (so did) Jacob: O my sons! surely God has chosen for you (this) faith, therefore die not unless you are Muslims" (The Qur'an, 2:32).

A SUGGESTION FOR AN INTEREST-FREE ISLAMIC MONETARY FUND

A WAY OUT OF THE FOREIGN GRIP OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF MUSLIM STATES

By Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah

Islam is not the only religion that denounces interest, but it is the only religion that has shown the way to an interest-free society

It goes without saying that no one willingly pays interest on money one has borrowed, but simply because one cannot borrow otherwise. It is also commonplace that unless a system of interest-free loans is elaborated, the mere declaration of the illegality and even sinfulness of interest remains without much effect, especially when all laws and all civilizations do not think alike. Islam is not the only religion that has denounced interest on loans in vehement terms (cf. The Qur'an, 2:275-279, etc.), but it is the only one, to my knowledge, that has provided a way out of the dilemma. I shall revert to it later. So long as Muslim governments acted on the commands enjoined by the Qur'an, there was little chance of the survival of the race of Shylocks on their soil. It is time to revive the Qur'anic institution, and to adapt it to the conditions of our time.

Another word of interpretation. The Islamic terms *zakat* and *sadaqat*, even if they meant in the pre-Hijrah verses of the Qur'an a mere alms-giving, a contribution for charitable purposes, the same terms were retained by the Qur'an and by the Prophet to signify something else after the Hijrah, after the establishment of the Muslim State by the Prophet Muhammad. From this period on, the term *zakat* (and its synonyms) signified the revenues of the Muslim State, coming from the pockets of the Muslim taxpayers — the only category of people in the long run in an Islamic State, others sooner or later guided to embrace the religion of the submission to God, and God alone — revenues levied on surplus property, on cultivated land, on imports and exports, etc.

Now, in the famous verse of the Qur'an (9:61) on the principles of Islamic budgeting, it is enjoined that the Islamic State should partly earmark its income (*sadaqat*) every year for the *gharimin* (the heavily indebted), a class which the Qur'an distinguishes in the same verse from the *fuqara wa masakin* (the poor among the Muslim and non-Muslim residents of the Muslim State). (For this interpretation, see the authoritative opinion of the Caliph 'Umar, in Tabari's *Tafsir* or Abu Yusuf's *Kitab al-Kharaj*.) It goes without saying that a government alone is the best qualified in an organized society — and not private individuals — to forego interest on loans advanced to anybody. The Qur'an commands that the Islamic government should every year reserve a certain amount of its income — as much as one-eighth, according to certain schools of Muslim law — for coming to the aid of those well-to-do who are temporarily in the

pressing need of borrowing money. History records that it was common practice in early Islam, in the time of the great Caliph 'Umar particularly, to borrow money, on production of security, from the State Treasury, and to repay it free of interest. Even the scrupulous Caliph 'Umar did not hesitate to have recourse to this sort of benefit from the *Bait al-mal* (Public Treasury), which he so justly and jealously guarded as the "property of the orphans", to employ his own terms. In fact, he repaid debts contracted in this way when he touched his semestrial salary from the *Diwan* section of the *Bait al-mal*.

There is no reason why this institution should not revive and adapt itself to modern needs: for instance, loans could be contracted for building houses, starting or developing commerce and industry and the like, and repaid in easy instalments extending over several years. In fact, the governments will not lose in renouncing interest on loans advanced to its own subjects, for the growing prosperity will recuperate the eventual interest in the form of increased income from taxes on houses and on industry and commerce. Yet, this is not precisely the point I was proposing to emphasize in this essay.

Today not only private citizens but even governments are in constant need of borrowing money, in millions and billions, to finance programmes of construction and other developments. There is an international monetary fund in America; yet as could be expected, it is not interest-free. An Islamic monetary fund could and should be established, yet not in any spectacular way and not even despising the modesty of its start. Before suggesting the ways and means, I beg permission for another digression.

A personal experience in interest-free loans

When the Islamic governments degenerated to the point of neglecting and forgetting the Qur'anic duty of providing for the interest-free loans to the *gharimin* (the well-to-do needy), an alternative was worked out and successfully put into practice in certain Muslim countries. I am referring to Hyderabad-Deccan, India, of pre-occupation days, when, with the awakening of Islamic consciousness in the 80's of the last century, societies for interest-free loans were organized on a basis of mutuality.

This is how they worked in 1948. Employees in an administrative department, for instance, founded a society, each member purchasing one or more shares according to his means, and paid them in monthly instalments extending over one hundred months. With fifty shareholders, the very first month brought, say, £50. The elected executive of the

society decided to whom this sum of £50 should be lent, on production of security, of course. The next month brought in not only another £50 of the shareholders' but also the instalment of the repayment of the loan advanced in the first month. In this way, every month the available capital increased and circulated. In the course of a few years, there was sufficient funds to meet practically all the needs of the members. The members also deposited their surplus money for safe custody in a sort of current account with the same society, and of course there was no question of being entitled to interest for these deposits. This also partly served to advance further interest-free loans. Not only were new members always admissible, thus increasing the capital, but also old members were permitted to discontinue membership and get back their share money and deposit in its entirety; of course on giving due notice previously, according to the rules of the society. As to the expenses such as stationery, remuneration of the accountant, etc., each member paid a small sum, a few pence, monthly for the purpose. In a small society, honorary workers are found, and the contributions towards expenses even build a reserve fund to meet unforeseen losses.

I have known societies with a thousand members where the reserve fund became so considerable in the course of time that it was employed to start a co-operative store of imperishable goods, such as food grains, clothing, etc., where the same members purchased their requirements on credit. The store purchased at wholesale prices and sold at the retail prices ruling in the market. The profits earned in this way were distributed partly among the elected workers of the store, partly among the members of the society, and partly to consolidate further the reserve fund.

The Muslim States can found an interest-free loan fund

Now if the Muslim States found among themselves a

monetary fund, *mutatis mutandis* on the same principles, even with a modest start, the course of a few years would procure appreciable funds and useful results. It could, for instance, be established in Mecca. Every State, from Pakistan and Indonesia down to Kuwait and Tunis, could purchase shares and pay them up in yearly instalments of hundreds of thousands of pounds, if not even in millions, a small fraction of their present annual expenditure. The income of the first year would be modest, and the clamour for loans perhaps great. The elected executive, with goodwill and a sense of justice and charity all round, can decide which member country or countries deserve most the interest-free loan, to be repaid, say, in ten to fifteen years. It goes without saying that the executive will scrutinize the motives proffered with each and every demand for a loan, and get due assurances that such loans will not be squandered on unproductive expenditure. As the transactions will take place practically only once a year, at the time of the Hajj, for instance, the establishment charges will be negligible. The adoption of the lunar calendar has the additional advantage of imperceptibly increasing the capital: in thirty-six years of the solar calendar members will have thirty-seven annual instalments.

If even £10,000,000 are collected every year, the fund will rise to the considerable sum of £100,000,000 in only ten years, and to very much more importance later. There is no reason why even Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Kazan, etc., should not join this fund. Who would not like to borrow interest-free loans? This self-help would proportionately loosen the foreign grip on the economic independence of the Muslim States, bringing prosperity not only to Muslims but even showing to the rest of the world in a tangible way how Islam can guide them to solve their economic problems, so very important after those of the spiritual.

THE GARDEN OF CONTENTMENT

II TOLERANCE

What are the steps mankind must take
To 'stablish that dear Garden and to make
It blossom with perfect bounteous
By God's enkindling Spirit plenteous?

Age follows age in different garments dress'd
And each hath different needs. Today the best,
The first and foremost in Time's Med'cine Chest,
To cure our present ills is *Tolerance*.
Yea, East or West,
Humanity's deliverance
Is *Tolerance*.

Must we believe that God hath made
No other man but like himself?
Hath fashion'd no commodity of trade
But what we find upon the shelf
Of our own intellect? What pleases us,
Must that please others? What displeases us,
Shall that thro' length and breadth of earth be bann'd?
Shall two eyes see all seeing? or one hand
Hold all that may be held on sea or land?
If this be so, whose are those eyes? whose hand
That Mighty Holder? — Ah! perchance,
Somewhere in Truth our brother finds deliverance.

WILLIAM BASHYR PICKARD.



W. B. Bashyr Pickard

The Six Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union



THE MUSLIM PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIETS*

By A. Bennigsen

III The campaign against the National Epochs

THE KIRGHIZ RESISTANCE

Azerbaijan

The Communist offensive against national epics like the Azerbaijani *Dede Korkut*, regarded till 1950 as "a monument of progressive culture"

In the preceding articles¹ we traced the different stages of development of the cultural policy of the Soviet Government in the Republics of Central Asia since the end of the war. We said that they had been characterized by two important ideological campaigns directed against the cultural autonomy of the Muslims: the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign which was destined to isolate Soviet Islam from the rest of the Muslim world and the "anti-nationalist" campaign which was directed against the native intellectuals who

were accused of being in opposition to the "Sovietization", or rather, to the "Russianization", of their national culture. In this article I am confining myself to the struggle which was carried on from the spring of 1951 onwards against the legends and national epics of the Muslim peoples; that is to say, to the last and most spectacular of the campaigns carried out for the purpose of breaking the cultural and spiritual autonomy of the Muslims of the Soviet Union.

The offensive started in the spring of 1951 in Azerbaijan with an attack on the *Dede Korkut*, the national epic of the Azeri Turks. This poem probably dates back to the eleventh century, but was certainly not written later than the fifteenth century. It forms a section of the *Oghuz Nameh*, the collection of heroic legends of the Oghuz nomads. Up to 1951 it was considered as official a work as the *Great Soviet*

* Courtesy, the Editor, *l'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris, France, No. 22, 1953.

¹ See *The Islamic Review* for April and May 1955.

Encyclopaedia,² as being "among the most remarkable monuments of the culture of the Azeri people" which sang the "faithfulness, uprightness, patriotism, courage and heroism" of the Azeri people. Long extracts from the *Dede Korkut* were to be found in the official *Anthology of Azeri Poetry* and in the academic, literary and history text books. A Russian translation of the poem was published in 1950 under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of Baku. Lastly, innumerable works popularizing the *Dede Korkut* have been published in Azerbaijan: a writer, Demirtchi Zada, a professor in the University of Baku, has taken a collection of tales for children and the material for an opera from this work; while another writer, Riza Kuli Zada, has based his plays and novels on these tales.

In May 1951, the *Dede Korkut* suddenly ceased to be "a remarkable monument of progressive culture", for on the 5th May a member of the Communist Party, Mirza

and Armenia. . . . The publication of this work was a gross political error for which the responsibility lies at the doors of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan . . . an end must be put to the ideological deviations and to the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism; the supporters of an ideology which is foreign to Marx-Leninism must be unmasked and pitilessly punished . . ."⁴

Finally in August 1951 the *Dede Korkut* was placed on the Index by the Moscow *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.⁵

Turkmenistan

The *Korkut Ata*, the epic of Turkmen, becomes a "poem of religious fanaticism, violence and bestial hatred"

After Azerbaijan it was the turn of Turkmenistan, whose national epic, the *Korkut Ata*, is a mere local variation of the *Dede Korkut*. On the 13th August 1951 Kurbansakhatov, the President of the Soviet Turkmenian Writers, wrote in the *Turkmenskaia Iskra* of Ashkabad a severe attack on the



A view of a street in Baku, the capital of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. In the background is the building of the Academy of Sciences, Azerbaijan
The national epic of Azerbaijanis, the *Dede Korkut*, has been condemned by the Communist Party of Azerbaijan as a book "impregnated with the poison of nationalism"

Ibrahimov, declared when speaking at the Congress of Soviet Writers of Azerbaijan:

"The *Dede Korkut* has nothing in common with the Azeri people; the life and customs which it describes are foreign to them. The men it rhapsodises are not the sons of our people but representatives of the aristocracy of the foreign conquerors."

Several days later in his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan,³ Baghirov, the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Azeri Communist Party, delivered another attack on the *Dede Korkut*:

" . . . The Azeri historians and writers have lost all sense of political vigilance, and have praised this harmful and anti-national composition *Dede Korkut* which is not a popular epic. It glorifies the Oghuz nomad aristocrats who came to Azerbaijan in order to pillage and assassinate. This book is impregnated with the poison of nationalism; it is aimed against the brother peoples of Georgia

Republican Ministry of National Education, the Academy of Sciences and the Turkmenian State University, the literary review *Soviet Adabiaty*, and the Turkmenian writers in general, who he held responsible for idealizing the "bloody chronicle of the Oghuz Khans, this poem of religious fanaticism, violence and bestial hatred."⁶

A short time afterwards at a special session of the

2 G.E.S., December 1949, Vol. I, p. 467 under "Azerbaijan Literature".

3 B.R. for 6th May 1951.

4 B.R. for 26th May 1951.

5 P. for 2nd August 1951. The article by Jafarov: "About the poem *Dede Korkut*".

6 T.I. for 14th August 1951.

Central Committee of the Turkmenian Communist Party, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Shikhmuradov, taking up the points raised against the *Korkut Ata* by Baghirov, delivered an extremely violent attack on the native intellectuals, who "refused to take into account the condemnation of the *Dede Korkut* in Azerbaijan, and continued to publish and to propagate this dangerous work, thus playing the game of the enemies of the people and of the Party".⁷

Lastly, the official condemnation of this work is confirmed by the group of active members of the Communist Party in the Academy of Sciences of Ashkabad, and then by the Plenum of the Union of Soviet Writers of Turkmenistan.⁸ Finally, it is once more condemned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, which met in a plenary session on the 28th December 1951. The minutes of this meeting published in the papers of Ashkabad, the *Turkmenskaia Iskra* and the *Soviet Turkmenistany*, reveals to us that, in spite of previous condemnations, the native intellectuals and even members of the higher grades of the Communist Party, continued to consider the Oghuz epic as being "a national and popular" work.⁹

Uzbekistan

The heroic legend of the Uzbeks, the *Alpamysh*, is declared "impregnated with feudal sentiment and inhaling Muslim fanaticism"

In Uzbekistan an attack was made in February 1952 against the *Alpamysh*, an heroic legend which tells the story of the fights of the Muslims of Turkestan against the Kalmuk "unbelievers".¹⁰ This attack appeared in the *Literaturnaia Gazeta* of Moscow, which ruled that the Uzbek epic is "impregnated with a reactionary and feudal sentiment, and it exhales Muslim fanaticism and preaches hatred of the foreigner and of the unbeliever".¹¹

The accusation made by the Muscovite paper is taken up again on the 23rd February 1952 by Niazov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, at the tenth Plenum of this organization.¹² Successively at the Conference of the Holders of the Chairs of Literature in the State University of Samarkand,¹³ and at a combined meeting of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and the Union of Soviet Uzbek Writers.¹⁴

At almost the same time the Communist Party proceeds to purge the epic poetry of the Kazakhs and the Karakalpaks; unfortunately we lack the basic facts in order to follow in detail the development of these two operations. All we know is that the national epics of the Karakalpaks, the *Koblandy Batyr* and the local versions of the *Alpamysh*, were condemned at a Conference of the Active Members of the Karakalpak Communist Party in April 1952 at Nukuhs.¹⁵

Still more recently in the *Literaturnaia Gazeta*,¹⁶ a paper which specializes in tracking down works considered to be dangerous to the Communist education of the younger generation, invectives were hurled against *The Songs about the Raids*, the national epic of Daghestan, which had only recently been compared by a branch of the Academy of Sciences of this autonomous republic to one of the best Russian *byline*.¹⁷

We do not know if this article published in the Muscovite organ was followed by an official condemnation by the local Communist Party, but there is every reason to believe that the Daghestanian poem has been condemned with the other "harmful and anti-social" Muslim epics. Thus in the spring of 1952, with the exception of Kirghizia, all the national legends of the Muslim people were successively denounced as so many obstacles in the way of the

education of the young Soviet citizens in the tradition of Marx-Leninism. From all the available evidence it appears that these purges form part of a minutely worked out plan, and they were carried out at a uniform rhythm. First of all the attack is usually started by a Moscow Party organ, the *Pravda*, or the *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, and on more rare occasions by a local newspaper. Then it is taken up again by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic in question, and then by the different cultural institutes, the trade unions, organizations of the Komosomol and the local committees of the Communist Party. This operation results in the accusing of the guilty local intellectuals, who indulge in self-criticism, criticize their colleagues and promise to mend their ways.

The nature of the reaction against the Communist campaign of belittlement of Central Asian Muslim heritage

What sort of reaction does this campaign of belittlement of the national heritage produce in the local populations? The Soviet Press makes out that it is received with enthusiastic approbation, but certain foreign observers believe that it is encountered with numbed resignation. This question would probably remain without an answer but for the development of a crisis which broke out in the summer of 1952 in Kirghizia with regard to the epic *Manas*, which has given us irrefutable elements to sift the evidence.

Kirghizia

The "purge" of the Kirghiz epic, *Manas*, and the fierce resistance of the Kirghiz intellectuals

We have already stated that in February 1952 only the small Kirghiz Republic was left alone, and everything seemed to indicate that the purge of the last remaining Muslim epic, *Manas* (an heroic legend relating to the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Chinese), was going to take place at the habitual rhythm, in other words, rapidly and without apparent resistance on the part of the natives. But, contrary to what happened in the neighbouring Republics, the offensive against *Manas* came up against a fierce resistance, not only on the part of the intellectuals, the University officials and the native writers, but also from the Kirghiz members of the local Communist Party.

The attack started with an article by the Professor of History, G. Nurov (who was not a Kirghiz but probably a Tajik) in the Russian newspaper of Frunze, *Sovetskays*

7 S.T. for 16th September 1951: the article of Shikhmuradov: "A Foreign Epoch among the Turkmen People: *Korkut Ata*".

8 T.I. for 29th September and 3rd October 1951.

9 T.I. and S.T. for 12th January 1952.

10 In 1951, the *Alpamysh* was described as a "pearl of Uzbek folklore" and as "one of the most beautiful epic poems in the world" (Introduction to an *Anthology of Uzbek Poetry*, Moscow, 1949). In March 1950 the G.E.S., Vol. II, p. 135, described it as "the song of the fight of the peoples of Central Asia against the invasions of the enemy". Some extracts of the *Alpamysh* appear in the official *Anthology of Uzbek Poetry* and in the school text books. The Russian edition of 1949 describes it as "really a popular work incarnating the aspirations of the working masses".

11 L.G. for 14th September 1952: "About the *Alpamysh* Poem".

12 The Report of Niazov in the P.V. for 24th February 1952.

13 P.V. for 28th February 1952.

14 P.V. for 3rd April 1952. See especially the speech of the Academician Yu. Suleimenov, which denounces "the pan-Turk nationalists" who have "dominated" the different cultural organizations. The proceedings of this session show that some of these "deviationists" refused to recognize their errors.

15 P.V. for 20th April 1952.

16 L.G. for 14th June 1952: K. Zalinski: "Against the Apology made for the *Songs about the Raids*".

17 A. Nazarevitch: *The Heroic Epic of the Mountaineers and its Influence on the Cultural Development of the Peoples of Daghestan*, Makhatch-Kala, 1948.

Kirghizia, for 2nd February 1952.¹⁸ In this article Professor Nurov described the *Manas* as "a feudal and imperialistic work completely impregnated with Muslim fanaticism and racial and religious hatred against the unbelievers". He concluded by declaring that this poem "is dangerous for the education of the people and, above all, for the Kirghiz youth in the vital spirit of proletarian internationalism and Stalinist goodwill, and also for all the people and Soviet patriotism in general. . . ."

Articles in the daily papers for and against the purge of the *Manas*

But contrary to what happened in neighbouring Republics, the article of Nurov did not result in the official condemnation of the *Manas*; quite to the contrary, it raised in the local Press a violent polemic and one saw probably for the only time in the history of the Soviet Union two

heroic poems in the world". And then proceeding to a counter-attack, he recalls the Islamic character of the *Manas*, which is no more shocking than the Christian character of the Russian *Bylines*, of the *Sayings of Prince Igor*, and the Georgian epic, *The Hero in the Leopard Skin*, which the authorities in the capital considered to be "progressive" and "national" works.

On 28th March the *Qyzyl Qyrgyzstan* and the *Sovetskaya Kirghizia* published a long article by Aaly Tokombaiev, the Kirghiz national poet, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a Deputy in the Supreme Soviet of his Republic. This article, written by one of the most eminent representatives of the Communist Party and of the Kirghiz intelligentsia, is a violent plea for the conservation of the national patrimony of his people.

After invoking the authorities of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Patapov, Kalinine, and even Stalin himself, Tokombaiev

A group of Kirghiz children at a village Secondary School, Kirghizistan, Soviet Russia



Republican daily papers, both organs of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party, on the one hand, the Russian language, *Sovetskaya Kirghizia*, and the other, the Kirghiz language, *Qyzyl Qyrgyzstan*, violently indulging in polemics, the one against the other. The Russian language paper denounced the dangerous character of the *Manas* and accused the native intellectuals of "bourgeois nationalism", while the Kirghiz language paper fervently defended the national heritage, even launching counter-attacks, some of which seemed to be bent on accusing the Russians of interfering with the cultural independence of the Kirghiz people. It seems to us, therefore, interesting to follow in detail this crisis, the only one of its kind which took place in the Soviet Union.

The first reply to Nurov's article was made on 19th March by Professor I. Scherstiuk, of the University of Frunze, in an article published simultaneously in the two daily papers of the Republic.¹⁹

Invoking the authority of Engels, Beliansky and Gorki, Professor Scherstiuk refutes the arguments of Nurov and proclaims that the *Manas* "is one of the most beautiful

states that the *Manas* is neither feudal nor pan-Islamic, and he concludes with a moving note which is steeped in nostalgia for the past:

"The legendary heroes of the *Manas* are obviously quite different from those of our Socialist epoch. It would be vain to compare them to our modern heroes; for there is nothing left in common between the cavalry of the *Manas* and the Soviet aeroplanes. But for us Kirghiz the *Manas* remains a precious relic of our distant past, a past which can never return, nay, a past that produced poetry which, although it has nothing in common with our epoch, remains eternally close to us and part of us. . . ."

In April, the *Sovetskaya Kirghizia* alone published two articles by Russian authors²⁰ which while recognizing that the Islamic and feudal element of the *Manas* is of comparatively recent date, insist on the negative side of the epic: it mentions the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Chinese people, "a friendly brother people," and thus it is harmful

18 S.K. for 2nd February 1952: "About the Book of the Great Campaign".

19 S.K. and Q.Q. for 19th March 1952: "Concerning the National Character of the Epic the *Manas*".

20 S.K. for 13th April 1952: the article of S. Doronin; and S.K. for 18th April 1952: article of Bogdanova.

to Sino-Soviet friendship. They are, however, careful not to utterly condemn the *Manas*, and confine themselves to asking that from the *Manas* should be expunged recent anti-social additions. The *Qyzyl Qyrgystan* replied to these two articles by publishing on 13th April an article by Professor S. Mussaev,²¹ who refuted the thesis of Nurov and invoked the authorities of the classics of Marx-Leninism, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Gorki, in order to show that the *Manas* was no more reactionary than the *Sayings of Prince Igor* and the other Russian legends.

The debate about the *Manas* being reactionary grows worse

In May the conflict worsened. The *Sovetskaya Kirghizia* suddenly published in turn two articles violently hostile to the *Manas*, by Baltine, the Dean of the University of Frunze,²² which took up the arguments of Nurov, and later an article by Zinogliad.²³ The latter writes:

"The *Manas* is an anti-social work aimed against the working class, who are described in it as lacking in will-power and courage and submitting to the orders of their overlords. It is, therefore, wrong to represent the *bais* of the *Manas* as the protectors of the working class. The heroes of the *Manas* are typical representatives of the parasitical strata of society. . . . Also the epic exudes pan-Islamism. From the first page, Muslims and Kafirs are mentioned . . . and, finally, it idealizes polygamy."

The *Qyzyl Qyrgystan* replied through two articles by native authors which were not reproduced in the Russian language paper. The article by Professor Tashtemirov entitled "The Struggle of the Kirghiz People against the Foreign Invaders"²⁴ is a courageous defence of the Kirghiz epic and heroic traditions of the Kirghiz people "struggling against the Chinese invader":

"The *Manas* is one of the imperishable glories of our people worthy of bearing comparison with the world's most famous epics."

The article of Professor Tashtemirov was followed by that of Batmanov, Professor of Linguistics at the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences. This article is a more subtle defence of the legendary poem. While recognizing that the *Manas* is a symbol of national resistance of the Kirghiz people to the foreign invaders, Professor Batmanov maintains that these invaders could not be Chinese (since the triumph of Communism in China it has become evident that the Chinese and the peoples of the Soviet Union have been brothers from the earliest of times) but rather the Kalmuks (the autonomous Republic of the Kalmuks was liquidated in 1945 and the Kalmuks were dispersed throughout the Soviet Union for "having helped the Germans").

Also in May four more articles from the pens of native personalities appeared almost simultaneously in the Russian and Kirghiz papers. The article of the writer Jakishev²⁵ was a feeble enough defence of the *Manas*. This was followed by another from Baialinov,²⁶ the President of the Union of Kirghiz Soviet Writers, who believes that the *Manas* "is a perfect and sublime work" and who denies the right of Nurov and Baltine to criticize it. "We Kirghiz," he writes, "could never share their opinion".

These two articles were followed by two new pleas in favour of the *Manas*, the article of Yunusaliev,²⁷ Professor at the Institute of Literature of the Branch of the Academy of Sciences, who attempts to prove that the *Manas*, "a venerable work," is very different from the reactionary epics, such as the Uzbek *Alpamysh* or the Turkmen *Ker Oglu*, and then the article of the novelist Tugelbai Sadykbekov,²⁸ the winner of the Stalin Prize. This article was a moving defence in

favour of the preservation of the national heritage. In order to show the authentic popular character of the *Manas*, he appeals to the old peasants, and to a ninety-year-old man in particular, and also to the popular *akyns*, which confirm that the *Manas* legends constitute an anti-democratic work but it has been for centuries the pride and glory of the Kirghiz people. Sadykbekov thus concludes his appeal to the people:

"Whether you are historians, writers or professors, know it that the *Manas*, of which the oral traditions pass from mouth to mouth, should be considered by you to be a treasure of the people. Study it, ponder over every one of its verses, reinstate its best versions, but at the same time recognize its popular and national character. For we should preserve this secular tradition of our people and save the national culture. . . ."

Finally, the journalistic polemic ends with an article by B. Kerimjanova, Professor of Philosophy at the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences, which only the *Qyzyl Qyrgystan* printed.²⁹ This last-mentioned article vigorously defends the Kirghiz epic and counter-attacks very courageously the Russian or non-Kirghiz personalities who dare to run it down.

"Comrade Nurov," says this writer, "reading the *Manas* in the Russian text, allows himself to qualify this work as being anti-social. . . . Comrade Baltine, who only knows it through its Russian translation, actually dares to belittle it. . . . But the *Manas* must remain a Kirghiz national work of art."

The Press campaign thus seems to have ended in an apparent success for the defenders of the *Manas*. Faced with the weighty and probably unforeseen resistance of the native intellectuals, the authorities decided to bring the matter up before a higher authority. From 6th to 10th June a scientific conference was held on the premises of the Philological Institute of the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences. It was attended by nearly 300 members of the Party and savants representing the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kirghizia and of other Central Asian Republics. But once again the Communist Party authorities were confronted with the irrepressible opposition of the natives. While the Russian delegates (Baltine, Klimovitch, Nurov, etc.) and some of the Communist Party dignitaries (Toktogenov, a Kirghiz, the Minister of National Education of the Republic) severely condemned the *Manas* and proposed to suppress it, the Kirghiz delegates and those of the neighbouring Republics (Baialinov, Yunusaliev, Awezov, who represented the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, Okaiev, the delegate of the State University of Frunze, Iliasov, a member of the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences, Sarmanov, of the Frunze Pedagogical Institute, Altamuchpaev, the Vice-President of the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences, etc.) asserted forcibly that the national and popular work, the *Manas*, should be preserved.³⁰

21 Q.Q. for 13th April 1952. The article of S. Mussaev, "The *Manas* must be considered as a National Epic".

22 S.K. for 16th May 1952: "Against the Falsifications of the Oral Tradition".

23 S.K. for 15th May 1952: "The Great Campaign, a Reactionary and anti-Social Book".

24 Q.Q. for 17th May 1952.

25 Q.Q. for 18th May 1952 and S.K. for 27th May 1952: "The Principal Versions of the *Manas* Epic".

26 Q.Q. for 25th May 1952 and S.K. for 27th May 1952: "The Kirghiz Epic, *Manas*".

27 Q.Q. for 28th May 1952 and S.K. for 23rd May 1952: "The Problem of the Period of the Writing of the Formation of the *Manas*".

28 Q.Q. and S.K. for 29th May 1952.

29 Q.Q. for 5th June 1952.

30 The proceedings of the meeting given in S.K. for 7th, 8th and 12th June 1952.

The question of the purge of the *Manas* goes before the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party, which declares it as exuding pan-Islamism and the distrust of the popular masses

The question of the progressive or reactionary character of the *Manas*, had not, so far, been settled; but on 7th June the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party met at Frunze in order to study the means of uplifting the quality of the ideological work in the Republic. Without directly mentioning the problem created by the *Manas*, the members of the supreme organization of the Communist Party violently attacked the "bourgeois nationalists" who had "infiltrated the local branch of the Academy of Sciences, the cultural institutions and even the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party". Aaly Tokombaiev, the most ardent defender of the *Manas*, was one of the people named and accused of being guilty of a nationalist deviation.³¹

And at last the *Manas* was officially condemned by the Academy of Sciences of Moscow, whose organ, the *Vestnik Akademii Naouk*,³² has finally classified the *Manas* among the works which "exude pan-Islamism, nationalism, the love of adventure and the distrust of the popular masses".

Thus ended the *Manas* incident, which for five months caused a storm in Kirghizia whose violence could appear astonishing if one forgot that the question, apparently derisory, of the "progressive" or "feudal" character of a work one thousand years old hides beneath it in reality a far graver problem, namely, that of the survival of the national culture of the peoples of Central Asia.

Conclusion

The purge of the national epics is the last so far of the ideological campaigns, but others will certainly follow in the months or years to come. It is, therefore, premature to judge the results obtained by the cultural campaign after the war. But now it is permissible to make the following assertions:

(1) The examples quoted previously prove that a conflict exists between the native intellectuals and the Russian authorities and that it concerns less the place of national culture in the "great Soviet culture" than the future of this national culture itself. It is not for us to prejudge the solution which will be brought to bear, but it seems that the authorities of the Communist Party consider that the co-existence of Soviet culture and the traditional culture which is completely impregnated, whether one likes it or not, with Islam, is not desirable in their estimation. In order to impose the former (i.e., the Soviet culture) the latter must be destroyed or at least drastically purified.

(2) The reaction produced by the new post-war cultural policy on the native intellectuals shows that they have a great fighting spirit and show a firm will to resist. It would appear, therefore, that the loss of the faith of his ancestors is less painful for the citizen of the Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union than the abandoning of his own national culture.

The Soviet Government, which has succeeded in large measure in its policy of de-Islamization and has liquidated fairly easily the "feudal" and "clerical" adversaries, is now coming up against the opposition of a social stratum which it has itself created, the native "cadres".

But the cultural conflict only represents one side of a much vaster problem and a much more important one, that of the political integration of the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia in the family of the Soviet peoples. This problem will be dealt with in the fourth article.

(To be continued)

31 An account of the meeting in P. for 8th June 1952. Aaly Tokombaiev was excluded from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and his name does not appear among those of the members of the Praesidium who were elected at the Sixth Congress of the Kirghiz Communist Party on the 24th September 1952.

32 No. 5, 1952, pp. 43-52: the article of Professor Kim.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.R.	<i>Bakinski Rabotchi</i> , a Russian language daily published in Baku.
G.E.S.	<i>The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia</i> , Moscow.
L.G.	<i>Literaturnaia Gazeta</i> , a Russian language weekly, the organ of the Praesidium of the Union of the Soviet Writers of the Soviet Union.
K.U.	<i>Kizil Uzbekistan</i> , an Uzbek language daily, Tashkent.
P.	<i>Pravda</i> , the Russian language daily of Moscow.
P.V.	<i>Pravda Vostoka</i> , a Russian language daily, Tashkent.
Q.Q.	<i>Qyzyl Qyrgystan</i> , a Kirghiz language daily of Frunze.
S.K.	<i>Sovetskaia Kirghizia</i> , a Russian language daily, Frunze.
S.T.	<i>Sovet Turkmenistany</i> , a daily in Turkmen language, Ashkabad.
T.I.	<i>Turkmenskaia Iskra</i> , a Russian language daily, Ashkabad.

We have transcribed *Kizil Uzbekistan* and *Qyzyl Qyrgystan* in accordance with the writing corresponding with the special phonetics of these two peoples. The Uzbeks have thus undergone the influence of Iran and they do not have the hard *i* which is still maintained by the Kirghiz and which we have transcribed by the letter *y*.

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THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE

by G. Neville-Bagot

The importance of the Conference to the Muslims

Three hundred and forty delegates from twenty-nine countries attended the historic Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia. The following countries were represented: The People's Republic of China, India, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Egypt, Ceylon, Japan, Afghanistan, Syria, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, the Lebanon, Liberia, the Gold Coast, Nepal, the Philippines, Sa'udi Arabia, Thailand, Turkey, South Viet-Nam, the Sudan, the Yemen and Libya.

The significant sidelight of the Conference was the all-round recognition of Islam's growing importance as a political force in this modern world. 400,000,000 Muslims were effectively represented at the Conference by official delegates and unofficial observers. Nearly half the number of countries taking part in the Conference were Muslim States. The key places in the Conference secretariat were held by Muslims. No major move was made without sounding Muslim opinion.

The success and importance of history's first and unique Asian-African Conference, which concluded amidst scenes of genuine enthusiasm and on a vote of complete unanimity among the delegates, can best be summarized in the words of the Afghan Foreign Minister, who said: "We came to the Conference with great hope and we depart with greater hope".¹ This optimism was echoed from the Press of all the participating countries. *The Sudan Weekly News*, Khartoum, The Sudan, for 26th April 1955, described the Conference as "... extremely successful, a challenge to the big powers' domination over all world affairs, and a bulwark against the danger of war.

"The twenty-nine nations with all sorts of diversities in them sat together as brothers and discussed the affairs of their countries with sincerity, freedom and foresightedness, and have reached wise and weighty resolutions which won them world admiration and appreciation and which will have far-reaching effects on the international sphere."

The European Press on the Conference

The European Press was no less appreciative of its importance. The leading French evening paper, *Le Monde*, Paris, carried an editorial on the Conference in which it stated that as a result of the Conference, Mr. Chou En Lai had invited the Egyptian Minister of Wakfs, the Shaikh Bakoury, to visit the Muslims in China, and that there were signs that the Communists had reverted to the traditional attitude of Lenin and Stalin towards Islam. By this the French daily appeared to imply that the Communists wished to favour or play off Islam at the expense of Western imperialism. The correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, England, in his report emphasized that the Western powers must not attempt to influence or coerce the Asiatic powers into taking up a position; for in that case they would most probably embrace Communism, but that they should be allowed to form their own opinions freely. His prophetic words were fully justified by the onslaughts of the Iraqi delegate, Dr. Fadhil Jamali, on "Communist colonialism", and the speeches of the Premier of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelewala, and the Premier of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, and the general resolution condemning

all forms of colonialism, which for certain delegates implied Soviet imperialism in Eastern Europe and in Muslim Asia as well as Western imperialism in Asia and Africa.

The outstanding feature of the Conference was that the Afro-Asian powers showed that they were fully capable of discussing their own affairs without the interference of the Western powers or the Soviet Union. What is more, they did this in a dignified and statesmanlike fashion which gave the Conference a hallmark of maturity. This Conference will undoubtedly go down in history as a landmark in the evolution of world diplomacy. The Indonesian Government and the people who organized it so successfully deserve a great deal of credit, as do also the convening powers and all the active participants.

The personality of the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En Lai, dominated the Conference, as he represented 600,000,000 heavily armed Chinese who appeared to be on the verge of another offensive against the islands occupied by the forces of General Chiang Kai Shek, an offensive which might result in a world conflagration which all the Eastern and newly-independent States wished to avoid, as it might lead to the re-occupation of their countries by their former rulers or by the Communists. The Afro-Asiatic countries, being fully conscious of the fact that they needed every surplus penny for their economic development, were able to give the whole world a lead by avoiding the faults of a negative extremism, such as a purely sterile denunciation of the United States, which would only have suited the selfish interests of the Soviet bloc. Thus they were able to produce a profound modification in the United States and the Communist Chinese foreign policy. The Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. John Foster Dulles, paid a tribute to the Conference and to the participants who, in his opinion, forced China to moderate her policy.

The religious views of the Muslims and the Buddhists (who were so ably championed by Sir John Kotelewala) forced Mr. Chou En Lai to make a conciliatory speech with regard to the enjoyment of religious rights in China, where, it has been well known, the Muslims have been severely persecuted, as also their Christian compatriots. The epic flight of the Kazakhs from Sinkiang to Kashmir and then to Turkey is yet too fresh to be forgotten. Less than 3,000 out of 40,000 survived the ordeal of this flight. It is probable that some modification will be made, at least temporarily, by Communist China in her religious policy, in order to win the support of the Muslim and Buddhist countries. The Muslims must cautiously exploit this attitude to the full in the interests of the millions of Chinese Muslims.

Some Western commentators adopted an intolerably patronizing attitude towards the Bandung Conference. For instance, an observer of the British Broadcasting Corporation, in commenting on the Conference, emphasized the point that Indonesia was attempting to divert opinion away from her internal position, which in his eyes was unfavourable. This critic forgets that if the Afro-Asian powers had to wait until they had solved all their internal affairs, it was unlikely that any major conferences would be held in Asia or Africa during the present century. But perhaps this is what he and his ilk would desire. The very fact that the Conference was an organizational success and that it did not degenerate into

¹ *The Times of Karachi*, Karachi, for 24th April 1955.



Above — The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, shaking hands with the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Sukarno, at a reception. To the right of Dr. Sukarno is standing Dr. Muhammad Hatta, the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, on whose right is standing Madame Fatimwati Sukarno, while to the right of Dr. Sukarno is Madame Hatta



THE SUDAN

Below — The Premier of the Sudan, Mr. Isma'il al-Azhari, at one of the receptions held during the Bandung Conference



Top centre — A general Conference at the Merdeka Indonesia delivering his s (left to right) the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Hatta, Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister of the Prime Minister

Bottom centre — His Excellency who led the Iraq Delegation shows Dr. Jamali at Friday. His masterly analysis of the described Zionism as "the



Bandung Conference (Monday, 24th April, 1955)



Plenary Session of the Bandung Conference. The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Sukarno, the Vice-President of India, Mr. Nehru, the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. 'Ali, the Minister of Indonesia, Sir John Kotelewala, and Mr. Muhammad 'Ali.

SAUDI ARABIA

Faidhal Jamali (third from left), at the Bandung Conference. Our picture in the Grand Mosque at Bandung. It disturbed the peace of the world in the book of old imperialism."



SAUDI ARABIA



Above — The Sa'udi Arabian Delegation at the Bandung Conference. The Delegation was led by His Royal Highness Prince Faisal, the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia



EGYPT

Below — The Prime Minister of Egypt, Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. 'Ali Sastroamidjojo, in conversation



a dog fight between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, Pakistan and Afghanistan over the Pathans, Iraq and Egypt, Turkey and Syria over the Iraq-Turkish Pact, and other like disputes, shows the will to co-operate and the dignity of the delegates. In the midst of all this, the Indonesians won the admiration and affection of all. They greatly enhanced the reputation of their country as an emerging Great Power.

The Soviet Press on the Conference

The Soviet English-language weekly, *New Times*, Moscow, for 23rd April 1955, devoted a great deal of space to the Bandung Conference and to the part played by Lenin in the regeneration of the East. Its correspondent in a prejudiced article attacked the Iraqi, Turkish and Pakistani delegates, who, to use the words of the Soviet writer, "will act as the voice of American diplomacy". According to the *New Times* correspondent, "the Iraqi delegate (Dr. Fahdil Jamali) also made it clear that not all the Conference participants sincerely wanted to co-operate in defence of the national independence of their countries and the promotion of peace". He, the *New Times* correspondent, accuses the Pakistan delegate of not venturing "to act openly against this universal aspiration of the people."

"This explains the ornate and vague language in which

colonialism and racialism, preventing atomic war, and promoting economic and cultural progress. Many delegates predict that the Conference will strongly influence the political situation in Asia and Africa, and will give another powerful fillip to the national liberation movements in these continents. The Liberian delegate, for instance, declared that the Conference 'marks a new era in the awakening of the peoples of these two continents and their realization of their important responsibility to mankind'."

These remarks apply equally to the movements for national liberation in the Soviet Empire and the Muslims struggling for their rights in Asia as well as in Africa. The Soviet propagandist would do well to realize that Liberia was set up as an independent State by American and West Indian Africans with the support of the United States.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia on the importance of the Conference

The President of Indonesia, Dr. Sukarno, made a memorable speech on 18th April 1955 at the opening session of the Conference in the Merdeka Hall. Seated with him on the rostrum were the Muslim Premiers of Pakistan and Indonesia, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali and Mr. Sastramidjojo, the



The Yemen Delegation at the Bandung Conference

the statements of the Pakistani and Philippine delegates were couched. While they joined with the representatives of other Asian and African countries in condemning colonialism, they sought to divert the Conference from a discussion of these burning issues by reiterating the hackneyed arguments of American propaganda. No wonder that they statements were given a cold reception."

These prejudiced statements belied the truth. For instance, Dr. Jamali of Iraq made it quite clear that the Iraqi-Turkish Pact was aimed at preserving the *status quo* as a preventive and not as an aggressive alliance, while Pakistan won the acclamations of the mass of the delegates (apart apparently from those of India and Burma) in its spirited support of the oppressed Palestine Arabs and the North Africans and on the question of Indonesia's rights over West Irian and the Yemen rights in Southern Arabia.

The Russian correspondent is on stronger ground when she remarks: "The speeches of most of the delegates testify to the determination of the Asian and African countries to secure close co-operation on a platform of opposing

Premier of India, Mr. Nehru, the Premier of Burma, Mr. U. Nu, and the Vice-President of Indonesia, Dr. Hatta.

Dr. Sukarno said that "this is the first international conference of coloured peoples in the history of mankind". He looked back to Colombo, the capital of "independent Sri Lanka", and the conference held there by five Prime Ministers in 1954; to the Bogor Conference in December 1954, which prepared the way for the Bandung Conference. He said the colonial peoples had for many generations been "... the voiceless ones in the world". He added that in the old days "the life blood of imperialism was pumped along the lifeline of the main artery of imperialism. This line ran from the Straits of Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Sea of Japan".

In the dynamic era of the past fifty years more had been achieved than in the past five hundred years in changing this situation. The following excerpt from this impressive speech deals with religious and racial tolerance. It constitutes one

of the finest assertions of the principles of modern progressive Islam.

"Perhaps in some ways the Conference which has assembled here today has some roots in that manifestation of Asian and African solidarity six years ago.

"However that may be, the fact remains that every one of you bears a heavy responsibility, and I pray to God that the responsibility will be discharged with courage and wisdom.

"I pray to God that this Asian-African Conference succeeds in doing its job.

"Ah, sisters and brothers, let this Conference be a great success! In spite of diversity that exists among its participants — let this Conference be a success.

"Yes, there is diversity among us. Who denies it? Small and great nations are represented here with peoples professing almost every religion under the sun — Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism and others. Almost every political faith we encounter here: Democracy, Monarchism, Theocracy, with innumerable variants. And practically every economic doctrine has its representative in this hall — Marhaenism, Socialism, Capitalism, Communism, in all their manifold variations and combinations.

"But what harm is in diversity, when there is unity in desire? This Conference is not to oppose each other, it is a conference of brotherhood. It is not an Islamic Conference, nor a Christian Conference, nor a Buddhist Conference. It is not a meeting of Malaysians, nor one of Arabs, nor one of Indo-Aryan stock. It is not an exclusive club either, not a *bloc* which seeks to oppose any other *bloc*. Rather is it a body of enlightened, tolerant opinion which seeks to impress on the world that it is possible to live together, meet together, speak to each other, without losing one's individual identity; and yet to contribute to the general understanding of matters of common concern, and to develop a true consciousness of the interdependence of men and nations for their wellbeing and survival on earth.

"I know that in Asia and Africa there is a greater diversity of religions, faiths and beliefs than in other continents of the world. But that is only natural! Asia and Africa are the classic birthplaces of faiths and ideas, which have spread all over the world. Therefore, it behoves us to take particular care to ensure that the principle which is usually called the "Live and let live" principle — mark, I do not say the principle of '*Laissez faire, laissez passer*' of liberalism, which is obsolete — is first of all applied by us most completely within our own Asian and African frontiers. Only then can it be fully extended to our relations with our neighbouring countries, and to others more distant.

"Religion is of dominating importance, particularly in this part of the world. There are perhaps more religions here than in other regions of this globe. But, again, our countries were the birthplaces of religions. Must we be divided by the multifariousness of our religious life? It is true, each religion has its own history, its own individuality, its own '*raison d'être*', its special pride in its own beliefs, its own mission, its special truths which it desires to propagate. But unless we realize that all great religions are one in their message of tolerance and in their insistence on the observance of the principle of "live and let live", unless the followers of each religion are prepared to give the same consideration to the rights of others everywhere, unless every State does its duty to ensure that the same rights are given to the followers of all faiths — unless these things are done, religion is debased, and its true purpose perverted. Unless Asian-African countries realize their responsibilities in this matter and take steps jointly to fulfil them, the very strength of religious beliefs, which should be a source of unity and a bulwark against foreign interference, will cause its disruption, and may result in destroying the hard-won freedom which large parts of Asia and Africa have achieved by acting together.

"Sisters and brothers, Indonesia is Asia and Africa in small. It is a country with many religions and many faiths. We have in Indonesia Muslims, we have Christians, we have Buddhists, we have peoples with other creeds. Moreover, we have many ethnic units such as Achenese, Bataks, Central Sumatrans, Sundanese, Central Javanese, Madurese, Toradjas, Balinese, etc. But thank God, we have our will to unity. We have our Pantja Sila. We practise the "live and let live" principle, we are tolerant to each other. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* — 'Unity in Diversity' — is the motto of the Indonesian State. We are one nation."

The Prime Minister of Indonesia on the world situation

The Indonesian Premier stated that the world Press had voiced suspicions that the aim of the Conference was to constitute an anti-Western or anti-white *bloc*; this was not the

case. He stressed the need for permanent peace and not an uneasy balance of power. The delegates, he said, were entrusted with the task of making a serious contribution to world peace, for the voice of nearly two-thirds of the world was speaking from the Conference hall. He opposed racialism and *apartheid* in particular, and advocated the admission of all the Asian-African peoples to membership of the United Nations. In his opinion these peoples had in the past paid too much attention to spiritual affairs and not enough to material development.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan's seven principles for world peace

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, proposed seven principles for world peace. He outlined these principles while addressing the Third Session of the Asian-African Conference. They are:

- (1) Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
- (2) Recognition of equality of other independent and sovereign nations;
- (3) Non-interference in internal affairs of one country by another;
- (4) Non-aggression;
- (5) Right to self and collective defence;
- (6) Right of self-determination and resistance to colonial exploitation; and,
- (7) Settlement of all disputes by peaceful means, i.e., through negotiation, arbitration or mediation.

These seven pillars of peace suggested by the Pakistan Prime Minister in his speech at the Plenary Session of the Conference were hailed by the majority of the delegates. The delegates of the Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Jordan and Liberia described it as "statesmanlike, bold, imaginative and concrete".

Mr. Muhammad 'Ali said the Conference should take up the problems of Palestine, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, and also discuss the problem of nuclear weapons. This led to a growing realization among the Arabs that Pakistan's devotion to the Arab cause had not been affected by its defence agreement with the West. Discussions on Palestine were initiated by the Pakistan Prime Minister, by demanding implementation of the United Nations resolution on the division of Palestine and the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees.

The Grand Mufti of Palestine, al-Hajj Amin al-Husaini, who was authorized to attend the session of the Political Committee dealing with Palestine, thanked Pakistan for piloting the resolution on Palestine. The Syrian delegate characterized the exposition of the Palestine case by the Pakistan Prime Minister as "the most brilliant and excellent he had ever heard".

Excerpts from the speech of the Prime Minister of Egypt

The Prime Minister of Egypt, Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, in his first speech at the Asian-African Conference on the 18th April 1955, concentrated on an appeal for observance of "human rights" in Palestine, French North Africa and the Union of South Africa. He said:

"... In this Conference we are meeting as representatives of the Asiatic and African countries. There is a striking similarity between the conditions prevailing in our countries, a similarity that operates as a unifying force. We have emerged from a long period of foreign influence, political as well as economic.

"At present we are faced with such problems as economic development, social and political reconstruction. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should feel close together, a fact that finds its expression in our concepts of world peace and international justice. . . .

The Revolution of Egypt

"... We are fully aware of the vital importance of the topics which the Conference is called upon to consider, in fact they are of special significance to my country now in the momentous epoch that followed her Revolution of July 1952. Our Revolution has set for its goal the liberation of the Egyptian people from corrupt and despotic governments and the restoration to our people of their real interests — dignity and freedom as individuals, independence and unity as a nation. Far from being a revolution of merely local importance, it has its significance in terms of the Middle East and of the world. I, therefore, hope you will bear with me if I say a few words in this respect. The Revolution of July 1952 was not only a revolution against the old régime. Both its objective and significance are of a more far-reaching character. For it was also a revolution against foreign domination.

"The guiding aims of the internal policy and underlying philosophy of our Revolution can be summed up as follows. First, to raise the standard of living of the average Egyptian, both materially and morally. Second, to provide the country with genuine democratic institutions. Third, to abolish feudalism through land reform. Fourth, to liberate our national economy from the grip of monopoly which deprives the individual of his real freedom and the state of its proper authority. Fifth, to strengthen our national army as a guardian of our sovereignty and international responsibility. Sixth, to promote social justice.

"The preoccupation of Egypt with its pressing and most-needed social and economic reforms has not diverted her from carrying out her international responsibilities in such a critical epoch. Egypt, which has long been a victim of foreign domination, stands in defence of the cause of freedom and welfare whenever it arises and the principle of self-determination for all nations.

"This constitutes one of the cardinal features of our foreign policy. Egypt has always been identified with all efforts and initiatives designed to secure for dependent peoples the full enjoyment of the rights and benefits to which they are entitled under the Charter of the United Nations.

"On the other hand, this United Nations Charter contains definite commitments on the part of the world organizations and positive responsibilities on the part of its members regarding non-self-governing territories. The Charter lays certain obligations on the administering powers. Among these is the obligation to develop in these territories self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of its peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their political institutions. However, the colonial powers have always obstructed any effective supervision of their administration of the non-self-governing territories. We have struggled and we shall continue to struggle for the strict application of the obligation placed upon the colonial powers by the Charter.

"The second feature of our foreign policy is our unshaken faith in the new international order which was inaugurated in this Charter of the United Nations and our sincere and continuous support of the world organization as an effective instrument in the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of the world prosperity.

"In the tension between the great powers which has unfortunately hindered the progress of the United Nations, Egypt always stood for the Charter and its principles.

"Although the Arab countries were among those who were most disillusioned by the failure of this organization to act in accordance with human rights, especially with regard to the countries of Northern Africa and Palestine, this did not cause us, however, to lose interest in it, nor did it deter us from co-operation in its activities or weaken our faith in its lofty principles and purposes. The third feature of our foreign policy is to expand the scope of co-operation among the Asiatic-African group.

"It is my deep conviction that the co-operation among the Asiatic-African nations can play a prominent role in the lessening of the present international tension and the promotion of world peace and prosperity. . . .

"All over the world there is a growing sense of insecurity. The fear of war has been aggravated by the development of mass-destructive weapons capable of effecting total annihilation. The stakes are high in terms of the very survival of mankind. The challenge is great, the greatest and likely the last. Can the statesmen of the world meet the challenge? Never before — as at present — was there a desperate need for an effective international order, and a genuine desire on the part of all the peoples of the world to combine their common efforts in bringing this through. Can we cope with this desperate need and translate such aspirations into a reality? We can earn no greater distinction than to seek and work for a true world peace.

Two of the five conditions essential for world peace

"To achieve this noble objective, it seems that five conditions are essential. The first is the success of the reports which the United Nations have been making for the regulation, limitation and reduction of all armed forces and armaments; also for the elimination of mass-destructive weapons. It is with a painful awareness of the extremely heavy burden of armaments, which is tending to break the back of world economy and which is distressingly hampering social progress in the world, that Egypt, and I trust all countries represented here, and even other countries not represented here, ardently hope that a stop be rapidly made to this race of armaments and that the world will soon awake from the horrifying nightmare which it causes.

"Furthermore, there is a close connection between raising the standard of living of the peoples and decreasing the armaments burden.

"It is also evident that modern science and technology, if utilized for peaceful purposes, offer the possibility of greater well-being for the human race than has ever been known. Put to peaceful uses, atomic energy offers hitherto undreamed of opportunities, especially for that vast majority of humanity that is still living in poverty and want in the economically under-developed areas of the world.

"The second condition for world peace is the adherence by the United Nations to the Charter and its principles. All decisions and actions taken by the world organization must be based on the Charter. Had this been the case, the flagrant injustice inflicted upon the people of Palestine and the unprecedented aggression committed against them would not have taken place. Permit me to make but a few remarks on the subject, which involves my deep regret.

"Under the eyes of the United Nations and with her help and sanction, the people of Palestine were uprooted and expelled from their fatherland, to be replaced by a completely imported populace.

"Never before in history has there been such a brutal and immoral violation of human principles.

"Is there any guarantee for the small nations that the big powers who took part in this tragedy would not allow themselves to repeat it again, against another innocent and helpless people?

"It is almost impossible to believe that such injustice should exist in the twentieth century, the age of world order, and under the eyes of the United Nations — the guardian of international law and justice. . . .

The Turkish delegate on colonialism, racialism and old imperialism

Turkey took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung.

At the beginning of the Conference, the head of the Turkish delegation, Mr. Fatin Rustu Zorlu, Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, spoke on the necessity for co-operation and unity among free nations to retain their freedom in the face of the threat of aggression.

He said that if they cherished hopes that peace and security could be preserved, it was because the force which lay in the union and the co-operation of the freedom-loving peoples was making it clearer every day that aggression did not and could not pay; freedom, independence and peace were not blessings bestowed on people without effort; rather they were ideals whose attainment or preservation placed a heavy burden of responsibility upon the shoulders of everyone.

To fail to realize these truths, declared Mr. Zorlu, to take the line of least resistance, and to hope that by closing one's eyes to danger one might find security, was a course which was perilous not only to the one who followed it but also to the entire community.

Such illusions had existed in very recent times, he went on, but they had all come to disastrous ends. Among the ideas which they should take from this momentous conference to their respective governments and peoples he ventured to hope that the grave danger involved in this "middle-of-the-road" policy would figure prominently. Another vital point which he hoped they would take with

them was the necessity for them, as Asians, to stop, first in their own area, violence and aggression.

In conclusion, Mr. Zorlu said the Turkish delegation, along with all other brother delegations, was fully convinced that colonialism and racialism, the remnants of old imperialism which were already on their way out, should be made to vanish from the face of the earth.

In the discussion on colonialism, the head of the Turkish delegation made a speech submitting the joint proposal put forward by Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Pakistan and the Philippines demanding that the destructive activities of international Communism should be censured. He said that because of colonialism a number of free and independent nations had become victims of fresh aggression, and pointed to Communist activities designed to bring about a collapse from within.

Excerpts from the leader of the Iraqi Delegation, Dr. Fadhil Jamali

"... Over two years ago, when the United Nations failed to pass a resolution on the issues of Tunisia and Morocco, I suggested

machine, on the one hand, nor into a spiritual being ridden with poverty and disease on the other. In other words, we peoples of Africa and Asia, while benefiting from the fruits of modern science, practical efficiency and organization which are so well advanced in Europe and America, should not lose sight of our higher spiritual values and cultural heritage. We must see to it that a well-balanced civilization for all mankind shall develop whereby the fruits of the thinking of both Orient and Occident shall integrate and that we shall have a human civilization well integrated and harmonious in its composing elements. Integration and harmony between matter and spirit, between science, art and religion, between individuals and groups within each nation, and between the nations of the world, should be our guiding principles. To achieve this, we surely need peace. To achieve peace, we must fortify and strengthen the United Nations Organization, which, in spite of its many good achievements, has not been strong enough to put into practice its ideals and to implement its many resolutions.

"Fear, suspicion, lack of mutual confidence, lack of individual and national security, homelessness, selfishness, greed, class struggle, intoxication with power — national or individual — race in armaments, religious bigotry, racial and colour discrimination, are some of the prevailing diseases in the field of international relations today. All these are rampant because man, the political man, has not been able universally to appreciate the oneness of humanity, and/or because he has a one-sided philosophy which sacrifices matter for



The Muslims of Burma entertain the Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia

On his way to Bandung, His Royal Highness Prince Faisal, Crown Prince of Sa'udi Arabia, stayed at Rangoon, Burma, on the 16th April 1955. His Royal Highness was entertained at a dinner in his honour at the Strand Hotel.

Our picture shows His Royal Highness with the Honourable Mr. Khin Maung Lat, Minister of Health and Judicial Affairs in the Government of the Union of Burma (standing to the left of His Royal Highness) and Mr. Yoonoos H. V. Ladhia, President of the Burma Muslim Chamber of Commerce

to my distinguished friend, His Excellency Sayyid Mahmoud of the Indian delegation, present here, to speak to His Excellency Mr. Nehru, the great leader of the Indian delegation, to convene an Asian-African Conference in New Delhi in order to discuss ways and means for facing the situation in North Africa, just as he did a few years before in convening a conference in New Delhi which dealt with the question of the liberation of Indonesia. Although the idea did not materialize immediately, it remained in the minds of many of us. Now that this Conference has been held with a wider membership and wider objectives, we sincerely hope that it will prove to be an event of great historical importance and that it will strengthen the ideals and purposes of the United Nations, as well as the cause of world peace. It is certainly a great event that we, who represent some thirty nations, are meeting here. Most of us have achieved our freedom and independence since the end of the First World War. All of us are jealous to protect our freedom and independence. Most of us are members of the United Nations, and devout upholders of its aims and principles. Many of us are anxious to rebuild and reconstruct our social and economic systems. Many of us yearn for the creation of a new world, a world in which the dignity of man, respect for individual freedom, shall prevail, a world in which the fruits of modern science shall be used for the happiness and prosperity of every individual and nation and not for the enslavement of man and the destruction of civilization. I am sure most of us aspire that the realm of the spirit shall be well integrated with the realm of matter, so that human life could be rich and dignified, and that man should not turn into a monstrous

the sake of the spirit, or sacrifices the spirit for the sake of matter. It is a hard task of self-education and collective endeavour to formulate to a new philosophy for all mankind, a philosophy based on brotherhood, freedom, justice and truth, coupled with human sympathy, mercy and beauty. Until this is achieved, and I sincerely hope that this Conference will prove to be a milestone in the path of achieving it, we must take cognizance of our immediate specific problems and try to face them with realism in the light of the philosophy which we seek to have.

The three international forces that disturb the peace of the world today

1. Colonialism

"As far as my country is concerned, we feel that there are three international forces in the world today that disturb peace and harmony and that need to be dealt with with realism and determination. The first is what we might call old-time colonialism, which has been gradually crumbling since the end of World War I. The fact that most of us here are new nations who have won our freedom and independence since the end of the First World War is good proof of the passing away of old-time colonialism. The United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, all have been more or less realistic in meeting the spirit of modern times. Thus Iraq, Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Jordan, Indonesia, Libya and others have achieved their freedom and independence. Other peoples are in the process of achieving this freedom. This process of liberation is certainly a

proof that some of the colonial powers have been responding to the spirit of the time and have been giving in to the struggle and sacrifices of the freedom-loving peoples in those lands.

"Unfortunately, colonialism is still well entrenched in many parts of the world. The people of North Africa, including those of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, are still under the French yoke, and no amount of local sacrifices and world opinion seems to influence the French to move more rapidly in recognizing the rights of these people to independence and freedom. Negotiations for even internal self-government for Tunisia have been dragging on with no immediate results. Patriots in Morocco are being shot by French terrorists indiscriminately, and the legitimate Sultan of Morocco, who is the spiritual as well as the secular leader of his people, has been banished from his country and been replaced by a figurehead who is nothing more than a French puppet. The French are trying to apply the old-time method of "divide and rule" in Morocco. In Algeria, which France considers arbitrarily as a province of Metropolitan France, shooting *en masse* and bombing are taking place daily. If Algeria, which is inhabited by a different people, who have a different culture and language from those of the French, were to be considered as part of France, why then should its Muslim Arab population suffer subjugation and discrimination? France cannot have it both ways. The whole principle of self-determination of peoples is being ignored by France, a great member of the United Nations, who should be bound by the principles and tenets of the Charter.

"A typical example of old outworn colonial policy is shown in South Africa, where colour prejudice and superiority of the white man has led to discrimination against the Indians and the natives, and to the segregation of the so-called coloured people. This is certainly a reactionary policy contrary to the dignity of man and to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. It seems to us that the world can never have peace and harmony until human values become universal, so that no race or nation considers itself superior to others or entitled to rule over them against their wishes.

2. Zionism

"The second disturbing force in the world is that of Zionism. Zionism is certainly the last chapter in the book of old colonialism. It is one of the blackest and darkest chapters in human history. It is the worst offspring of imperialism, for imperialism as practised so far included occupation, partition, subjugation and moral disintegration of lands and peoples which are ruled by it. Zionism, however, with its State of Israel, has added to all these evils the uprooting of whole populations and the expulsion by force of innocent peoples from their homes, thus making destitute and homeless nearly one million Palestinian Arabs, Christians and Muslims alike. Not only that, the loyalty of the Jews to their respective countries is undermined by developing a loyalty to Israel in order to create a Zionist State based on racial and religious discrimination. This is no time to recapitulate the tragic story of the Palestine problem of recent years. Suffice it to mention only two facts. The first is that the peoples of the world cannot remain hoodwinked indefinitely by Zionist propaganda so as not to see the truth about Palestine. That is why we sincerely hope that the States represented at this Conference, as well as all fair-minded peoples in the world, will continue to brand Israel as an illegitimate State and as an aggressor, and to see to it that Arab rights to their own home in Palestine are recognized and restored. The second fact is that the Arab people, and behind them the Muslim and most of the Christian worlds, are determined never to give up their political or religious rights in Palestine. Spiritually Palestine belongs to the peoples of the three great religions, Islam, Christianity and Judaism, alike, and never belonged to the Jewish faith alone. Politically Palestine belongs to its legitimate inhabitants, the Arabs who lived there for centuries before the imperialistic designs were imposed on the Holy Land. The conclusion is that Zionism will continue to be a primary source of disturbance of peace and harmony in a most vital and strategic part of the world, the Middle East.

3. Communism

"The third force causing unrest in the world at large today is Communism. Communism is a one-sided materialistic religion. It denies God and the spiritual heritage of mankind. One would not consider any religion of any sort as a source of danger to mankind if it were peaceful in its approach and method. Communism, however, is a subversive religion. It breeds hatred among classes and peoples. Thus the Comintern and later its offspring the Cominform represents the great centre of command for the agents of this new anti-God religion, and no nation on the globe is left untouched by their activity and subversion. The peoples of Asia and Africa who have been struggling for decades to achieve their freedom and independence are liable through Communist machination to jump

from the pan into the fire. It is for the leaders of every State in the non-Communist world to face the gravity of Communist danger in their respective countries. But that is not all; for the realm of ideology is not all that the Communist world is struggling to achieve. In spite of the declaration of the Great Powers during the Second World War that they sought no territorial aggrandizement, conquest and domination have proved to be the rule with the Communist world. They confront the world with a new form of colonialism, much deadlier than the old one. Today the Communist world has subject races in Asia and Eastern Europe on a much larger scale than any old colonial power. Just think of the vast areas of Turkestan in Asia which are under Russian domination. Think of the fate of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. They were swallowed by the Soviet Union, who also added to its vast territory slices of Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. Under the old form of colonialism, there is some chance of one hearing the cries of pain of the subjugated peoples. Under Communist domination, however, no such cries are permitted to be heard. Small countries like my own, who are very well familiar with the processes of Communist infiltration and subversion, and who have watched the tragedy of Korea and the downfall of a highly-developed country like Czechoslovakia, feel that their very existence is endangered unless we provide them with defensive protection. We believe that such measures are essential for self-preservation until such time when the Communists may change their minds and hearts and agree to a universal system of disarmament, including the prohibition of the nuclear weapons. Moreover, physical disarmament alone is not enough. The truth is, what the world needs first today is an ideological disarmament. Achieving that we must work on the basis of moral rearmament and physical disarmament whereby men of all races and nations with clear hearts, with no rancour or hatred, approach each other with humility and admit their mistakes and work for mutual harmony and peace. It is then, and only then, that the world will turn into one integral camp with no Eastern or Western camps. . . ."

"To achieve that we must strive to clean our hearts and minds. May I conclude with the meaning of a verse from the Qur'an which I hope will be applicable to all of us here and to all those who are not with us but share our earnest desire for peace:

"God will not change the condition of a people until they change from within themselves."

The Libyan delegate recounts the three evils that disturb the peace of the world

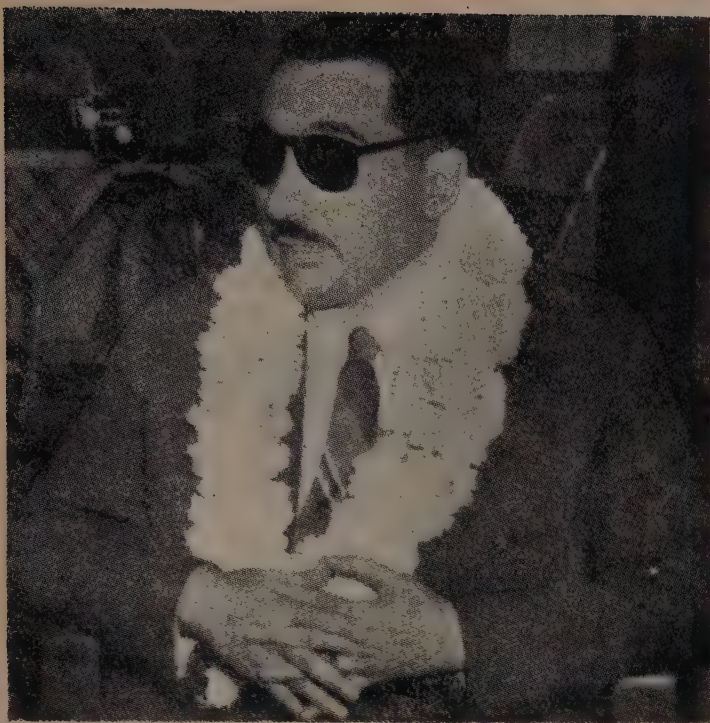
"My country is of opinion that the present tension in world relations is due to a number of evils, evils which must be defeated if humanity wishes to live in harmony, and if world peace is to be safeguarded. Most countries have realized long ago where the danger was. Their efforts to fight it, however, have been too slow.

"I am referring first to colonialism. Mankind has been able to free itself from individual slavery, but alas, it is still suffering in many parts of the world from national slavery, the subjugation of an entire people. I do not believe that world peace will ever be attained as long as a country employs might to impose its will on another country, and makes it bow to its own aims and selfish interests. It is indeed very regrettable that North Africa, with its three territories of Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, should still be under foreign domination. It is also very regrettable that France, the first nation to proclaim the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, should meet the rightful claims of these three countries to freedom and independence with violence and repression. We sincerely hope, however, that France will reconsider her attitude, and stop bloodshed, and answer the aspirations of the people of North Africa.

"Second, racial discrimination, whether based on colour or origin, is an evil derived from the colonial spirit, and it is indeed a great offence to humanity.

"Third, external ideological interference. We all agree that every country has a perfect right to choose for itself whatever ideology it wishes, but it is very dangerous for the world as a whole that any country should attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, and to force upon her, whether openly or secretly, a different way of life or system of government. Such interference, whatever its source may be, is but another kind of colonialism, more dangerous and of much stronger effect, since it embodies all the disadvantages of colossal colonialism, and, in addition, intellectual slavery. It is a danger menacing the sovereignty of nations and the cause of world peace.

"I must not fail to say that one of the problems greatly interesting the Government of Libya, being an Arab country, is the tragedy of Palestine and the resulting sufferings and griefs which her population has to undergo. They have been expelled from their homes, their worldly possessions have been confiscated, thus finding



His Excellency Mr. Mahmad Muntasir led the Libyan Delegation to the Bandung Conference

His Excellency is at present Libya's Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, London. He, like all the other Arab delegates to the Conference, threw into relief the injustice "to the aspirations of the people of North Africa and the tragedy of Palestine" and "the resulting sufferings and griefs which her population has to undergo"

themselves without shelter or an abode to go back to. What has befallen them can well be considered the greatest disaster that mankind has ever suffered. The safeguard of the rights of these refugees is but a human duty which all countries must collaborate together to accomplish. . . .

The Syrian delegate condemns Israel as a vestige of imperialism

"In the battle for peace, first and foremost, we must have faith in our capacity and our potentiality. We are not negligible. It is true we are under-developed in the military and economic fields. It is equally true that we do not possess nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. But still our contribution can be great and decisive. With our combined will, if we are in earnest, we can veto a catastrophic war or bring it down to a minimum. Without us a world war cannot be waged. We command the greatest of manpower, of raw materials, of war fuel, of military bases and of strategic positions. What a great asset to arrest war and establish peace.

"But, Mr. President, peace cannot be manufactured. Peace is not a commodity liable to export or import. Peace is the making of a peaceful mind, of a peaceful policy and of a peaceful nation.

"Yet how can the world hope to achieve peace with this wild race of armaments? It is no secret that certain powers are engaged in a dreadful industry of death and destruction. Nuclear energy, a great blessing by itself, could if uncontrolled turn the world to ashes, civilization to annihilation and mankind to extinction. This is no exaggeration, for all scientific authority on record has asserted that the atom could destroy the whole world down to the last atom. It seems as though man's genius is making for his own destruction. And the questions arise, why resort to weapons of mass destruction, why not invoke the means of pacific settlement? We know that each and every dispute is solvable when all the parties abide by fairness and pay heed to the counsel of equity. . . .

"Yet peace can only be achieved and maintained in a free world. It has been said time and again that peace is indivisible. With this axiom we do not quarrel. But when freedom reigns indivisible — when freedom is not a monopoly — when freedom is preached and practised, peace will take care of itself. Peace is bound

to reign. With vestiges of colonialism and relics of imperialism there cannot be peace. An invasion or aggression, no matter how remote, does not lead to peace. The eradication of aggression is a prerequisite for security and stability. In support of this assertion certain problems may be cited.

"The Palestine question is one, and a tragic one, too. The territory is part and parcel of the Arab world from time immemorial. Being our Southern Province, Palestine has shared with Syria its rise and fall since the dawn of history. As an outcome of imperialism and anti-Semitism, Israel was established in a country not of its own. The legitimate people were uprooted from their homeland and now wander in their seventh year of a life of exile. Israel has usurped a country, robbed a people of their property, wealth and fortune, and defied the fundamental principles of human rights. Now, the Holy Land is suffering massacres, atrocities and various types of genocide at the hands of Israel. It is noteworthy that Israel does not belong to Asia or Africa. Israel is a pocket left behind the line of imperialism in its desperate retreat. Placed at one of the main gates of Asia, at the crossroads of the three continents, Israel is an advanced outpost of imperialism. Thus, Israel exposes to danger the liberty of the peoples of Asia and Africa — a liberty they captured through their sweat, blood and tears.

Morocco, Tunis and Algeria

"Next comes the question of North Africa. The conditions in Morocco, Tunis and Algeria are distressing and disturbing. Morocco, a State ten centuries old, is now a vast concentration camp with a deposed monarch. Tunis is lingering since 1950 in a process of protracted negotiations for its humble autonomy. Algeria is in a state of disturbance, a recurrence of a century-old conflict. In general these three Arab territories, once the seat of dynasties and civilizations, are denied their national aspirations and the exercise of the principle of self-determination. Since the establishment of the Arab League, our efforts for a peaceful and equitable settlement have failed.

"Africa presents another tragic problem. Racial discrimination against the people of Indian and Pakistan origin and the policy of *Apartheid* are a source of grave concern and deep anxiety to the whole civilized world. The disgraceful practices and legislations that gave rise to the problem are unforgivable in the age of the United Nations and the principles enshrined in its Charter. It is sad that the United Nations has failed to undo these flagrant violations, thereby assuming the role of a debating society.

"In Asia we have the question of West Irian. This again is a legacy of imperialism. The territory is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. It is alarming that the United Nations, dealing with this question in its last session, did not adopt a resolution framed in the most moderate language.

"In all these problems imperialism stands out as the main cause. Should these acts of aggression continue, the problems will continue and the state of insecurity is bound to continue. To achieve peace all pockets of imperialism should be washed away, all evils of discrimination swept away. When all the debris of imperialism is removed then, and only then, can we inaugurate an era of everlasting peace and prosperity."

Mr. Nehru reads the message of the Algerian Nationalist leader, Ahmad Messali

Apart from the speeches quoted, the message of Hajj Ahmad Messali, the leader of the Algerian Nationalist Movement, was read to the delegates at the Bandung Conference by the Indian Premier, Mr. Nehru (*cf.* the organ of the Algerian National Underground Movement, *La Voix du Peuple*, France, for 25th April 1955).

Mr. Messali in his message stated that in his opinion the Conference surpassed all previous manifestations of solidarity among the colonized peoples. He said that attempts to sabotage the Conference by imperialist powers such as France had failed owing to the sympathetic support for the Conference by world opinion.

Mr. Shadly Mekki represented Algeria at the Conference together with the other North African nationalists — Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi (the leader of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco) and Mr. Salah Ibn Yusuf (the Secretary of the Neo-Destour Party of Tunisia).



An artist's drawing of the beautiful façade of the Mosque and Islamic Institute in the capital of the United States of America, Washington, D.C.

THE MUSLIMS OF AMERICA

80,000 MUSLIMS AND 12 MOSQUES IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA

by Nadim al-Maqdissi

Earliest immigrants

The view that the Moors discovered America long before Christopher Columbus's Queen Protector Isabella drove them out of Spain is still told with pride in many Muslim lands. This claim apart, we only know from the records that we possess that no more than a handful of Muslims set foot on American soil before the latter part of the last century. Earliest known among these was a certain Istifan the Arab, a Moroccan who was a guide to Fra Marcos De Niza, a Franciscan, sent in 1539 by the Viceroy of New Spain to discover what is known today as Arizona.

A more recent enterprise helped to bring another Muslim to America. A little over a century ago experts of the United States Government conceived the idea that the desert of Arizona might become a suitable breeding place for camels, whereupon they ordered some from Arabia. Along with them came a cameleer called Hajji 'Ali. The camel experiment proved to be a failure, but Hajji 'Ali (nicknamed Hi Jolly) remained in the United States, where he became a prospector in California.

A third Muslim is the hero of a weird story related in a book called *History of Green Country*, printed in New York in 1884. It seems that around the early part of the sixteenth

century an Egyptian by the name of Norsereddine was comfortably settled near the Hudson, in the Catskill region of New York. All went well for that Egyptian pioneer, who claimed royal birth, until the day he accepted the challenge of a Dutchman who offered to wager 1,000 pieces of Crown gold for the conquest of the heart of Lotwana, a beautiful Indian princess. Though Norsereddine succeeded in befriending Lotwana's father, the Mohawk chief Shordaken, he failed to make any headway with the princess, who, consequently, became engaged to the choice of her heart, an Indian warrior from her tribe. Norsereddine, now smitten with love, vowed revenge and succeeded in poisoning Lotwana on her wedding day. He was captured, however, by the tribe's warriors and burned at the stake.

First American convert to Islam

The first known American to embrace Islam was Muhammad Alexander Russell Webb, born 18th November in Hudson, N.Y. Following a short journalistic career Webb was appointed, in 1887, American Consul at Manila. There he came in contact with a number of works by Muslim authors and befriended several Indian Muslims who had established businesses in the Philippines. In 1888 he declared

his conversion to Islam in a pamphlet expressing his conviction as follows: "Islam is founded upon the eternal truth which has been handed to man from age to age by chosen prophets of God from Moses to Mohammed. It is the only system known to man which is strictly in harmony with reason and science". In June 1892 Muhammad Webb resigned his consular office and set sail for the United States via India, where he delivered lectures *en route* at Madras, Hyderabad-Deccan and Bombay. The titles of his three main lectures were "The Better Way," "Islam," and "Philosophic Man". These three lectures were incorporated in a small booklet and published in 1892 at Madras by Maulvi Hasan 'Ali, an Indian Muslim missionary who, in an introduction to the pamphlet, pays touching tribute to Webb: "We could not find a better man. He came to the East as a representative of a great nation but he is now returning home as the representative of a great faith".



Muhammad Alexander Russell Webb, born on 18th December, 1846, died 1st October 1916 at Rutherford, New Jersey, U.S.A., probably the first American to have accepted Islam, in 1888 in Manila, the Philippines, practised and preached it in the United States

Back in the United States, Muhammad Webb established himself in New York City in an office on Upper Broadway under the designation of the Oriental Publishing Co., and in May 1893 the first issue of *The Moslem World* appeared. In the following years Muhammad Webb wrote and published several booklets on Islam, best known among which are *An Outline of the Mohammedan Faith*, *The Five Pillars of Practice*, and *Polygamy and the Purdah*. In October 1916 Muhammad Alexander Russell Webb died, aged 70, a devout Muslim to the end.

With the turn of the last century, Muslim immigration to the United States assumed larger proportions and took the form of the transfer of communities rather than of individuals. In Syria and the Lebanon hundreds of Shi'ah and Druze Muslims, spurred by the success of their Christian compatriots in America, took to immigration. From other parts of the Arab world hundreds of Muslim sailors jumped ship while in U.S. harbours and remained to grow into clannish

communities in New York, Philadelphia and Detroit. Over three thousand Muslims of Tartar origin came over from Poland and settled in New York to become skilled tanners. Many others came to the United States from India, Iran and Turkey, and a small community of Circassians, mostly of noble birth, left the Soviet Union and settled in New York.

Those immigrants and their children form the majority of the Muslim population of the United States and Canada that now totals an estimated 20,000 persons. The remainder, however, some 3,000, neither immigrated to this country nor are they descendants of Muslims. They are American Christians who have been converted to Islam, and the story of their conversion is an interesting chapter in this review of the Muslims of America.

Converts in Harlem

While hundreds of American missionaries were busily engaged in the Near East in an attempt to convert Muslims to Christianity, two Muslims in America were more successful in converting Christians to Islam. This is not meant to cast any reflections on the efficiency of the missionaries. It merely shows the relative ease of converting certain Americans. Three factors contributed to the success of the Islamic crusade that was first started in 1941 among the Negroes of Harlem. First, Islam is a simpler form of worship and its doctrines are easier to explain than the comparatively more intricate Christian dogma. All that is needed to become a Muslim is to repeat a simple declaration of faith: "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Messenger". Second, the complete freedom of religion and the inherent right of the individual to worship as he pleases in the United States makes the formal act of changing one's religion a simple task. Third, the fact that racial discrimination is non-existent among the multi-racial Muslims was a strong argument in favour of the Muslim missionaries in Harlem.

In the autumn of 1931 a man by the name of Sufi 'Abd al-Hamid started preaching the Muslim faith in the streets of Harlem. Associated with him was an Egyptian *Shaikh* and schoolteacher called Hafiz Mandaly. Sufi, who spoke very little Arabic, is said to have come to New York from Chicago. Little is known about his past, but from various reports it can be deduced that he was an American Negro who travelled to the Middle East and, while there, was converted to Islam. Sufi and Mandaly formed a team. Sufi was the zealot and symbol of faith while Mandaly was the wise and learned scholar.

Sufi would lecture in the streets and attract a crowd, which he would then turn over to Mandaly for further indoctrination. One of their first converts was an undertaker, who offered his large funeral parlour, free of charge, to be used as a meeting place. Soon after all meetings were held there. In 1936 some 300 people were known to assemble to listen to Sufi and Mandaly preach Islam. When both died in the same week in 1937 (Sufi in a plane accident and Mandaly of natural causes) an estimated 250 Christians of Harlem were already Muslims.

In 1938 one 'Abd al-Wadood (a convert's adopted Muslim name) founded the Moorish National Islamic Centre at 1 East 125th Street. He and his wife Rizkah organized meetings and continued the missionary work started by Sufi and Mandaly. Although this Centre was closed in 1944 the number of converts was growing rapidly and two societies were formed to organize the increasing activities of the converts. 'Abd al-Wadood founded the International Moslem

Society and an Indian lady, 'Atiyyah Begum, established the Academy of Islam, now headed by Ibrahim Hasan, a Harlem convert. During the 1940's some integration was made between the newly-converted Muslims and immigrant Muslims, who joined one or the other of the two societies. The current President of the International Moslem Society is Ibrahim Ghalib, one of 150 Somalis who live in New York.

In addition to the 3,000 Negro Muslims of New York there are today some 1,000 in Philadelphia, 2,000 in Detroit and another 2,000 in Chicago who came to Islam as a result of the missionary work of their New York compatriots.

Another organization is the Islamic Mission Society, headed by the Shaikh Dawud Faisal. At his home in downtown Brooklyn, used also as a club and house of prayer, the Shaikh Dawud, an affable and charming person, impressed this writer as a sincere propagator of the Islamic faith. The Shaikh Dawud founded the Islamic Mission in 1934, and ten years later it was incorporated for, as the application states, "the propagation and perpetuation of al-Islam, the religion of mankind".

Other national groups of Muslims

Other major Muslim national groups in New York are the Tartar Poles, the Yemenites, the Syrian-Lebanese and the Pakistanis, the Tartar Poles being the largest group, comprising today some 4,000 persons. This interesting group is composed of the descendants of the army of Genghis Khan, who, after sweeping across Russia in the thirteenth century, settled in Eastern Poland. Persecuted by the Tzars for their faith, they lived in isolation and ghettos. In the early years of the twentieth century a few families migrated to the United States, followed less than a decade later by many others. They now lead a secluded life and rarely mix with other Muslim groups except on important occasions such as religious feasts. Their social life is centred around the activities of the American Mohammedan Society, which built the first and only mosque in New York fifteen years ago.

Closely related to the Tartar Poles are an estimated 200 Circassians, who are noted for their high percentage of nobility. Some of these nobles, such as Colonel Qader Gray, trace their ancestry back to Genghis Khan, while others such as Prince Koplonov go a few steps further in claiming descent from no less than Abu Bakr al-Siddik, the first Caliph of Islam. When these nobles emigrated to the United States following the Bolshevik revolution most of them found work with the National Biscuit Company in New York City. Their present Imam is the Shaikh Rafikoff.

The number of Pakistanis in the United States is estimated at more than 2,000, of whom 500 live in New York City. Their activities are channelled through the Pakistan League, located at 80 Clinton Street in downtown New York. The League, claiming 300 members, was founded in 1947 by 'Ali Reaz, who is its President. Its main functions are performing various religious duties such as prayer, marriage and burial; it also extends help to members in need. Its predecessor was the Moslem League, founded in 1937.

The majority of New York's Pakistanis are factory workers, but a few own successful restaurants. Another Pakistani Muslim group has grown up in Sacramento, California, and their major occupation is fishing. Social life centres around their mosque. Some of the farms owned by these Pakistanis are worth upwards of \$100,000, such as the one near Butte City, California, owned by Fazl Muhammad

Khan, who is President of the Pakistan National Association of California, one of two such groups, the other being the Pakistan Association of California, headed by Badr-ud-Din of Sacramento. A number have gone into business; for example, Pakistani Muslims operate four restaurants, five hotels and three clothing stores in Sacramento.

The Yemeni group of Muslims live in the main Arab district of lower Brooklyn around Atlantic Avenue, and its members, some 300 persons, comprise mainly seamen, factory workers and longshoremen. A small Egyptian group in Brooklyn has formed the Egyptian-Arab-American Seamen's Society, whose Vice-President is 'Aliya al-Ogdie, a charming and able young woman of North Dakota origin, wholeheartedly dedicated to the cause of Islam.

While the Muslim community of New York is made up of groups representing diverse national backgrounds, none forms a majority by itself. This is not the case in Detroit, where the second largest Muslim community in America is found. Almost all the 18,000 Muslims concentrated in the Detroit-Dearborn area are of Lebanese origin. The first Lebanese Muslim families arrived in Detroit in the years just before the turn of the last century. In the decade before the First World War many others followed, finding work in the growing automobile industry. A great number, however, preferred self-employment to factory work and started their own grocery stores. Today one of them, namely Mahmoud (Mike) Mamady, owns the biggest chain of grocery stores in the Midwest. Mr. Hamady emigrated from the Lebanon more than fifty years ago and settled in Flint, Michigan. His business started with a small grocery store that grew with the rapid growth of that city's automobile industry. Today, Mr. Hamady's chain of several hundred modern grocery stores serves millions of Americans all over the Midwest.

A much smaller Muslim group in Detroit is the Albanian-American Moslem Society, led by Imam Vehbi Isma'il, whose father, now dead, was once the Mufti of Valona in Albania.

Mosques and houses of prayer

In addition to the numerous "houses of prayer" there are today twelve mosques in the United States and Canada ranging in size from the beautiful and elaborate new Washington mosque to the small mosque of the Pakistani community in Sacramento, California. The first mosque built in the United States, or perhaps in the Western hemisphere, was the Detroit mosque, completed in 1922. Twenty years later it was abandoned to make place for a larger one. The oldest mosque in existence this side of the Atlantic is believed to be the one built in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in 1935. Today there are three mosques in the Detroit-Dearborn area, two belonging to the Syrian-Lebanese community and the third to the Albanians.

The mosque of the Tartar Polish community located on Power Street in Brooklyn is the only mosque in Metropolitan New York. It was completed in 1945 and has a large basement used as a recreational centre. A drive is under way to build a large mosque in New York that will also serve as a centre of Islamic culture in that city. The drive is organized by the Mosque Foundation and is headed by Hamdan Ghannam, a prosperous New York merchant of Palestinian descent.

In Toledo, Ohio, the corner-stone was laid last year for the building of a two-storey mosque that is expected to meet the religious and cultural needs of some 5,000 Muslims who

live in this mid-Western city. The Los Angeles mosque was founded by Muhammad 'Abdullah Reynolds, an American convert to Islam. Other mosques in the United States are at Ras, located in North Dakota, Chicago and Philadelphia. The only mosque in Canada is in Alberta, Manitoba, where a small but prosperous Muslim community has been living for many years.

The Washington mosque forms part of the Islamic centre that is nearing completion on Massachusetts Avenue, in the heart of the capital's diplomatic district. The idea of building a mosque and educational centre in Washington had been entertained for a long time by the leaders of the Muslim communities in America. But not until the representatives of eleven nations with a large Muslim population took direct interest in it did this idea start transforming into reality. In 1945 a committee was formed from the ambassadors and ministers of Muslim countries as well as from representatives of the Muslim communities for the purpose of building a mosque and Islamic centre. The first step taken by the committee was to launch a fund-raising campaign in Muslim countries as well as in the United States. More than \$800,000 was soon collected and the building project was entrusted to Muhammad 'Isa Abu al-Hawa (Joseph Howar), a prosperous Washington builder of Palestinian descent. The centre is currently directed by Dr. Mahmoud Hoballah, who is on leave of absence from al-Azhar University of Cairo, where he is a Professor of Ethics and Psychology.

As it stands today with its 160 ft. minaret reaching into the sky, the Washington Islamic Centre is a beautiful monument of Muslim architecture fashioned by the best artisans of the Middle East. More than that, it is a symbol of a great monotheistic religion, comprising over 400,000,000 people, who like Christians recognize the value of the spirit in guiding the destiny of man.

Conventions and a federation

The need for a national Muslim organization had long been felt by American Muslims, and several attempts towards that had been made. The idea, however, did not take shape until the summer of 1952, when delegates from the different Muslim communities in the United States and Canada met in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and agreed to establish an organization to serve as a link between them. At that first general meeting they elected a committee to draft a constitution for the new organization and decided to hold their next convention the following summer in Toledo, Ohio. At their second convention in Toledo the draft constitution submitted by the committee was reviewed and it was decided to change the organization from a society to a federation with the idea of broadening the scope of its activities.

Their July 1954 Chicago convention, with 500 delegates representing the different Muslim organizations in the United States, resulted in the final establishment of The Federation of the Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, with 'Abdullah Igram, a former GI from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, as its first President.

The aims of the Federation are clearly expressed in the following quotations from the preamble of the Constitution, which states: "Muslims, wherever they are and in whatever age they live, are individually and collectively responsible to learn, exercise and spread the ideals of Islam. . . . As an expression of their obligation and services in the path of God the Muslims in the United States and Canada should organize themselves into local associations to translate the above objectives with their communities."

The New York Council

No sooner had the delegates returned to their homes than some of them began to translate the Federation's recommendation to organize locally into action. In New York for the first time in their history eight major Muslim organizations were united under the recently formed Muslim Council. Each organization is represented by two members and the Chairman is chosen on a rotation basis. The organizations are: The International Muslim Society, the Academy of Islam, the Mosque Foundation, the Young Men's Moslem Association, the Young Women's Moslem Association, the Pakistan League, the United Nile Valley Association and the Egyptian-Arab-American Seamen's Society.

The purpose of the Council is to serve as a representative body of the various Muslim organizations in New York and co-ordinate their activities in the fields of public relations, social work and missionary endeavour. As a first step in that direction, the Council assumed the responsibilities of the Mosque Foundation and launched a campaign among all Muslim groups in New York to achieve their long-cherished dream of a mosque and Islamic Centre.

The 80,000 Muslims of the United States are but one of many religious and ethnic groups that make up the people of this country. Like most groups, they represent a cross-section of race, colour and national background. Though numerically they are but a fraction of the total population of this country, they enjoy all freedoms, rights and privileges guaranteed by law to any other group or individual, which could not be described as a condition prevailing in many other countries.

PEN PAL

Mr. Kulwant Singh, 604 Harnami Shah St. 3, Dhab Vasti Ram, Amritsar, India, aged 17 years. Wishes to correspond with friends. Interests: Stamp collecting, view cards, magazines and literature.

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AN AMERICAN CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR ON ISLAM AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SCIENCE¹

By Professor Millar Burrows, B.D., Ph.D.

**"Science describes ; religion commands. Science may tell us what man is and how he became what he is ; religion tells us why he exists and to what end his life must be directed.
"When religion is enlightened and purified by science, and science is disciplined and directed in its application by religion, then and only then will human life be what it ought to be and can be ; then and only then will the will of God be done on earth"**

Introductory remarks

The problems involved in achieving an adjustment between science and religion are much the same for Islam as for Christianity. The world with which science deals is one. Scientists may be separated for a time by national barriers, but science itself cannot be divided into such compartments. And while we have different religions, God is one ; our boundaries and divisions have no meaning for him.

"The Lord and the West — there is no god but He" (The Qur'ān, 73:9 ; cp. 26:28 ; 55:17 ; 70:40).

In the golden age of Islamic culture, when Muslim scholars were laying the foundations of modern science, Muslim and Christian thinkers discussed together their common philosophical and theological problems, and learned much from one another. So now, facing the problems raised by modern science, Muslims and Christians may find much to say to one another which will be mutually helpful. It is from that point of view that I venture to suggest a few general lines of thought which may perhaps, God willing, be found helpful.

Religion and science deal with different aspects of the same reality

That a "cold war" is going on between natural science and religion is obvious. Many scientists are devoutly religious, and many religious people are quite at home in the world of science, but there are also many scientists who are either indifferent or hostile to religion, and many champions of religion who fear and denounce modern science. This conflict cannot be settled by simply making a choice between science and religion, accepting one and discarding the other. Religion and science are both here to stay. They must learn to live and work together.

The best way to find out how this can be done is to examine the causes of the conflict. One of the most important sources of difficulty is the fact that both science and religion claim to be ways of knowing truth, but they approach the truth in very different ways, and each is inclined to distrust the way followed by the other. Religion offers knowledge by revelation, perceived by special insight, intuition, or inspiration. Science seeks knowledge by investigation, observation, generalization and experimental verification. Science does not accept any proposition as true until it has been demonstrated, whereas religion speaks with authority and demands faith.

The scientific and the religious ways of approaching reality are not necessarily incompatible or mutually exclusive. Unless we must accept a kind of metaphysical pluralism, which would make both science and monotheistic faith unrealistic and futile, religion and science deal with different aspects of the same reality. They do, however, represent different aspects. Approaching reality in different ways, they necessarily see it differently.

Religious experience can be investigated

Religious faith is based in part on different data from those which constitute the material of the natural sciences. Both are provided by experience, but by different kinds of experience. The inner, spiritual experiences through which religious insight comes cannot be measured and reduced to mathematical formulæ or tested by experiments in a laboratory. I do not mean that religious experience, even the prophetic experience, cannot be investigated. It can be observed and studied in the same way and to the same degree that aesthetic or emotional experiences and reactions of any kind can be observed and studied. Much work has been done in the psychology of mysticism and the psychology of the prophetic experience ; a large part of it, because of insufficient data and fallacious presuppositions, is worthless, but some of it is valuable as far as it goes. Religion has no cause to forbid or fear such investigation, provided it is honest, objective, and methodologically sound.

It must be emphasized, however, that psychological investigation cannot determine the validity of the religious experience as a way of knowing truth. Science can describe the psychological processes of religious experience and compare them with other kinds of experience, but its description has no bearing on the religious significance of the experience. The scientist can point out, for example, that in terms of psychological phenomena many religious experiences cannot be distinguished from hallucinations. He cannot, as a scientist, say that therefore all such experiences are hallucinations. Religious people have always known that there were false visions and false prophecy. Science can describe the forms of religious experience ; it cannot evaluate their substance. Science describes the psychological processes ; faith interprets them, and its interpretation can neither be verified nor proved false by laboratory experiments.

The distinction between fact and interpretation applies not only to inner spiritual experience but also to the interpretation which faith puts upon the natural phenomena studied

¹ A paper prepared for the Colloquium on Islamic Culture held at Princeton University in September 1953.

by science. The special experiences of the prophet and the mystic are not the only forms of religious experience. Religious impressions and convictions often come through the contemplation of nature and human life. The Qur'an constantly rebukes men because they do not recognize the signs of God in such common daily experiences as the alternation of day and night and the revival of vegetation after rain (The Qur'an, 45:34, and often). Any experience becomes a religious experience when faith perceives in it a religious meaning. Religious faith interprets all experience in terms of ultimate cause and significance, which are outside the field of natural science.

Religion is therefore entitled to insist on the reality of the experiences by which it claims to attain truth, and to assert the right of faith to interpret the significance of these experiences and all experience. It must recognize the difference between the kind of knowledge achieved by scientific demonstration and the assurance which comes from inner, individual experiences which are incapable of such verification, or the faith which means active commitment to what we sometimes can only hope may be true. Religion has a right, however, to remind the scientist of the hypothetical, tentative character of many of his own assumptions, and to ask that its interpretations of experience be treated with respect, at least as working hypotheses.

The reason for the conflict between religion and science lies in the pre-scientific form in which the revelation was necessarily contained, not the religious substance of the revelation itself

Religion should not expect that its convictions will be accepted on authority, on the ground that they are given by revelation and sanctioned by ancient tradition. For the religious believer himself these considerations have force as supporting his faith; they cannot convince a non-believer who does not admit the authority of tradition of the fact of revelation. For science the spirit of free inquiry is the very breath of life. If religion is to secure the respect of scientists it must be willing to expose its claims to the full light of reason, asserting no authority other than the authority of truth itself, as it commends itself to the free judgment and conscience of each individual. It must say, "This is what we believe, and we believe that it is God's truth and God's will. We cannot compel you to accept it as such; we do not ask you to accept anything except what your own best judgment pronounces right and true."

Relying on the power of the truth to win acceptance for itself, religious believers must also be willing to accept the truth discovered and demonstrated by science. They cannot of course accept all the theories of different scientists or regard as final what the scientists themselves consider only partial, tentative conclusions. They must not be in haste to surrender convictions which seem to have no scientific support. They must, however, accept the general consensus of the most competent authorities within the proper field of the natural sciences, and must adjust their own beliefs to these conclusions.

This requires both honesty and courage, for while religion and science, as two different ways of knowing truth, are not necessarily incompatible, there are some traditional beliefs which are contradicted by the findings of science. These discrepancies on particular points of belief have actually aroused most of the conflict between science and religion. When science demonstrates the very opposite of

something which we believe was divinely revealed, what can we do? The first thing to do is to re-examine the beliefs which we attribute to revelation and see whether they can be so understood as to agree with the truth disclosed by science.

Let me try to make clear what I mean by an example. The conclusions of modern science concerning the origins of the world are notoriously inconsistent with the statements in both the Bible and the Qur'an that God created the world in six days (The Qur'an, 11:7; 25:59; 32:4; 41:8-11; 57:3). To be sure, it is also said in the Qur'an, as it is in the Bible, that with God one day is like a thousand years by man's reckoning (The Qur'an, 22:47; 32:5). This, however, does not dispose of the problem. The vast ages during which the universe was coming into being cannot be compressed into six thousand or six million years. Man himself was not created by a single act of God distinct from the creation of the animals, but is the result of a long process of development from lower forms of life. How can this discrepancy be resolved? We cannot reject the clear, convincingly demonstrated findings of science. Must we then reject what has come by revelation, the religious way of knowing?

The answer must be found by reconsidering the nature of revelation. Just as we have distinguished between the psychological form and the religious substance of religious experience, so we must distinguish between the conceptual form and the religious content of revelation. To convey meaning it must be given in terms that mean something to the hearers or readers. The Qur'an makes much of the fact that it is given in the language of the people for whom it has been revealed:

"And thus have We sent it down an Arabic Qur'an" (The Qur'an, 20:113; cp. 39:28; 42:2; 43:1-2; 44:52). It is given "in the plain Arabic language" (The Qur'an, 26:195).

But not only must the message come in a language which is understood, it must be expressed in a framework of familiar, comprehensible ideas. It must be adapted to the capacity of the hearers. Otherwise no meaning is conveyed, and there is no revelation.

The form in which any revelation comes is thus determined by the general world-views of the time and place in which it is received. These can never be wholly adequate or accurate; they will always have to be corrected later. At the time of the revelation, however, they serve to convey important religious truth, all the truth that the minds of the recipients can apprehend. If the truth revealed in the Qur'an or in the Bible had been expressed in terms of a modern scientific conception of the universe, it would have meant nothing to the people who received it; it could not, indeed, have been stated in their language at the time. It would also, of course, still need revision, for our present conceptions are not perfect or final.

The idea that the world was created in six days belongs to what I call the form or framework of the revelation, the pre-scientific world-view in terms of which the revelation was given. In the first chapter of the Bible, where it first appears, this idea is clearly connected with the seven-day week and the institution of the Hebrew Sabbath. The real religious substance of the revelation is not that the world was created in a week, but that it was created by God. The universe is not the result of chance or of blind, chaotic forces; it is the work of God. Modern science gives a new and much larger framework for this faith. As our knowledge of the universe expands and deepens, the divine work of creation becomes more and

more marvellous and awe-inspiring. In short, it is only the pre-scientific form in which the revelation was necessarily contained, not the religious substance of the revelation itself, that conflicts with modern science.

Some problems for religious faith in the modern world and their relation to the orderly government of the universe

Other problems for religious faith in the modern world might be discussed from this point of view if there were time. Among them are the questions of miracles and prayer and their relation to the orderly government of the universe. Back of these is the basic problem of believing in God at all in the face of a scientific view of the universe. How can the sovereignty of God's will be related to the impersonal forces and immutable laws of nature? This question obviously cannot be answered in a few sentences. The ideas of natural law and of cause and effect are themselves undergoing radical criticism at present. The reluctance of many scientists to speak of causation at all brings to mind the radical denial of all natural laws and secondary causes by the *mutakallimun* of the school of al-Ash'ari. Apparently the extremely complicated but orderly operation of forces which Einstein sees in the cosmos at large has not been found in the activity of particles within the atom. The implications of this strange state of affairs are not yet entirely clear. Sensational discoveries have been announced during the past spring and summer. Obviously the time is not ripe for theologians to take positions based on one or another theory of mathematical physics.

It is important to remember, however that regardless of formulas and equations the sun still rises and sets regularly. Water does not flow uphill at one time and downhill at another without any consistent pattern. There is some regularity and dependability in the way nature works; without this science itself could not exist. Physicists may tell us that there is no predictable uniformity in the universe beyond statistical probability, and that the atom itself is only a hypothetical entity, a "mental construct". Yet they successfully use their mental constructs to make bombs which wipe out thousands of human lives at a stroke, and that, I submit, is no mental construct. Speaking of the principle of uncertainty Einstein made his famous remark, "I cannot believe that God plays dice with the cosmos". He probably did not know that he was almost quoting the Qur'an:

"And We did not create the heaven and the earth and what is between them for sport" (21:16; cp. 44:38).

We may not be able to formulate exact conclusions, or even to state the question precisely, but we still have to deal with the problem of the divine sovereignty in relation to what we must still call the laws of nature. The solution of this problem, it seems to me, can be found in a conception long familiar to Muslim *Kalam*. Without necessarily accepting the denial of any secondary causes, we may see the basic truth of the matter in the idea that the uniformity we observe in the operations of nature reflects God's '*adah* (habit), his customary, consistent ways of exerting his sovereign power. The question whether there is any such thing as a miracle, any special Providence or direct answer to prayer, is then the question whether there is any *khariq al-'adah*, whether God ever makes exceptions to his own customary ways of working. It is not a question of his being subject to laws outside His own will and power.

Science and religion are at variance in the matter of the belief in a future life

Another important subject on which religious and

scientific ideas are at variance is the belief in a future life. The resurrection, the judgment, the rewards and punishments of believers and infidels, have a place of overwhelming importance in the Qur'an. This subject is of course outside the field of natural science, which deals only with phenomena observed or observable in this world. On the other hand, not only has science found nothing in the universe which supports belief in personal survival after the death of the body, but there is much in what has been discovered about the nature of personality and the relation between mind and body which raises serious questions concerning the possibility of a future life, and no man knows the answers to these questions. What Islam asserts, of course, is not that the soul is by nature immortal; it is that God will raise the dead by a miraculous act, a new creation. On that assertion science can have nothing to say. What has not yet taken place, and, if it does take place, will be a complete break in the continuity of natural processes, cannot be subjected to any process of scientific verification. The question is still a matter of faith, as it has always been.

The subject of the future life introduces another source of friction between science and religion which at the same time suggests how they may be reconciled and combined in a fruitful working partnership. We have been considering religion and science as different ways of knowing truth. Religion is concerned, however, not only with knowledge but with action and the ultimate goals of action. Several years ago, in a meeting at Princeton, I heard Professor Albert Einstein say something to this effect: "Science tells what is; only revelation can tell what ought to be". While this distinction, like others we have considered, must not be drawn too sharply, it is real and important. Science describes; religion commands. Science may tell us what man is and how he became what he is; religion tells us why he exists and to what end his life must be directed. This is indeed the very essence of religion for Islam and Christianity alike. Religion is not merely belief but commitment, recognition of God's rightful authority over us and submission to his will, voluntary and active devotion to his righteous, sovereign purpose.

But science too leads to action. By telling what nature is, it shows how nature can be brought more and more under control for practical purposes. These may be either good or bad. Science may be used and is used for both good and evil ends. Herein lies the possibility of a partnership possessing enormous potentiality for good. If the power acquired through science can be applied to the purposes set forth by religion, both science and religion will work together for the welfare of man and in the service of God.

But can science really serve the ends of religion? Certainly it has done much for human welfare. In no area is this more notable than in that science to which the great scholars of Islam have made some of their most important contributions, the science of medicine. In other vital matters also, such as the production of food, modern science has made much progress. Especially conspicuous are the extraordinary developments of recent years in transportation and communication. It is true that these have increased the possibilities and occasions of friction between different peoples, but they have also increased the possibilities of greater understanding and co-operation for the good of all. This Colloquium would hardly have been possible without the aeroplane.

Religion itself has often been quick to make use of the newest scientific inventions. It is rather amusing, indeed, to note that in America the first religious groups to use such modern facilities as the aeroplane, the cinema and the radio

are the ultra-conservative group we know as Fundamentalists, who in their teaching vigorously repudiate such scientific ideas as evolution.

There is certainly nothing essentially irreligious in man's growing control of natural forces. From one verse of the Qur'an it might be inferred that the solar system was created in order that man might study astronomy and make practical use of it:

"He it is Who made the sun a shining brightness, and the moon a light, and ordained for it stages that you might know the computation of years and the reckoning" (10:5).

The Qur'an often refers to the subjection of nature to man among the signs which should evoke thankfulness and faith:

"He Who made for you the ships and the cattle what you ride upon, that you may firmly sit on their backs and remember the favour of your Lord when you are firmly seated thereon, and say: Glory be to Him Who made this subservient to us and we were not able to do it" (43:11-13).

Not only the taming and use of animals but also ships are mentioned here and in many other places:

"He it is Who makes you travel in by land and sea" (The Qur'an, 10:22; cp. 16:5-16, 80-81; 45:12-13).

Surely in our day the Prophet Muhammad would have added, "and in the air". If the camel and the ship are God's good gifts, how much more are the railroad, the automobile, and the aeroplane!

Modern achievements of science are threatening the cultural and religious values of Islam

Yet there is a real problem here. The progress which science has enabled us to make in using the forces of nature has unquestionably diminished our sense of dependence upon God. Our control of the forces of nature for our own ends is increasing so rapidly that we easily fall into the habit of assuming that by pressing the right button or moving the right lever we can accomplish anything. Whether or not we consciously adopt a mechanistic philosophy, we are almost forced by the conditions of modern life into a mechanistic attitude toward the world. Like those who in earlier ages believed in magic, we assume that all we need in order to achieve everything we desire is the right formula, the correct technique.

The results which are actually achieved on the basis of this assumption are so fascinating that they distract our attention from the invisible, intangible things of the spirit. They make life not only more comfortable but also more interesting. As a result we lose interest in spiritual concerns. Science cannot be held responsible for this, of course. Most men have always been worldly-minded. The material achievements of modern science, however, by making this world more attractive, have increased the difficulty of directing men's thoughts to spiritual matters.

The problem of utilizing the advantages of science without sacrificing the spiritual values of religion is by no means a new problem for Islam. It arose first when Muslim faith first confronted the science and philosophy of the Greeks. It has been raised in a new form, however, by the encounter with modern science as a part of what we call Western civilization. After keeping alive the light of learning through the period in which Europe lay in the darkness of barbarism, Islamic culture, as we all know, suffered calamities which left it for centuries in a state of stagnation, until it awoke to find that in matters of material welfare it had been overtaken and passed by the young, raw civilization of the West. The

relation between science and religion is therefore not only or primarily an intellectual problem for Islam. It is involved in the whole complex process of the interaction between Islam and Western culture, including economic, social and political, as well as intellectual factors. It has therefore important practical and emotional aspects.

The adoption of new practical techniques and means of production, transportation and communication has often been brought about first by the needs of military defence. But military strength requires a strong national economy, and this calls for industrialization. Meanwhile commercial and cultural contacts have introduced other products of Western technology. All this makes for social and economic progress, but it also raises the problem of preserving Islamic culture from domination by Western ideas and ways of life. Through contact with the new forms of life and thought imported from the West, Islam finds its most cherished cultural and religious values threatened.

But while the problem thus arises in a particular way for Islam, it is by no means a problem peculiar to Islam; it is a global problem. The spiritual values of every culture and religion now find themselves threatened by materialism and secularism. The most conspicuous expression of a materialistic, secular philosophy on a large scale is of course the dialectical materialism of Communism; this would have little attraction, however, if men's ideas and attitudes had not already become secular and materialistic.

And this is not all. The finest achievements of science may be used for destructive as well as constructive purposes. Perhaps this is the meaning of what is said in the Qur'an concerning the use of iron:

"And We have made the iron in which there is great violence" (57:25).

The mood of despair which results from the destruction of man by man can only be conquered by a self-committal to the will of God

The outstanding example of this now is of course the use of atomic energy. This was stimulated by a military emergency, and it was at once exploited for a military purpose, resulting in the most appalling and hideous destruction yet wrought by man against man. The frightful possibilities of this discovery and those which have rapidly followed it have led the scientists themselves to a new and sober sense of moral responsibility. They have come to realize that the vast forces which they have released may, if uncontrolled, destroy civilization itself.

This frightening possibility has intensified the shock of disillusionment caused by two world wars just when men were thinking that an era of universal peace, prosperity and brotherhood was at hand. Expectations of unlimited progress, rooted in unwarranted extensions of the idea of evolution and ill-founded confidence in material civilization as self-sufficient and self-sustaining, were destroyed by these catastrophic events. The result has been a mood of despair among thinking people. While this is especially true in the West, it has not been without effect in the world of Islam. Only a few days ago I heard a man who had just arrived from the Middle East say, "The young men of my generation in the Arab world are materialists and defeatists; they have lost any feeling that they can do anything for themselves". He himself is a living proof that there are exceptions to his generalization, but it was based on wide observation.

What can overcome this mood of despair? What but religion? What can inspire and direct the right use of the magnificent instruments which science has placed in our hands? What but self-committal to the will of God — not

dumb, supine acceptance of whatever happens, but positive, active dedication to the accomplishment of God's will for man? Religion is needed to give the courage and guidance required to prevent utter disaster to the human race and to insure real progress.

Religion has suffered at the hands of official representatives of religion

Yet religion, instead of promoting social and scientific progress, has often hindered it. Some of the reason for this can be seen in the facts I have mentioned. Alarmed by the practical consequences of applied science, many people now feel a wistful homesickness for the more simple life of earlier days. In Asia this feeling strengthens the hostility to science as a phase of Western influence. Even such a clear-sighted and forward-looking thinker as Muhammad 'Abduh felt that European science was useful only for European civilization, and Islam had no need for it. But we cannot turn back the clock of history. The futility of trying to do so is illustrated by Mahatma Gandhi's attempt to revive the use of the spinning wheel in India. In self-defence, if for no other reason, the peoples of Asia and the rest of the world must make full use of all that science offers them.

Resistance to social and cultural progress in the name of religion cannot always be attributed to laudable concern for spiritual values. Frequently the fault is not in religion itself; it is in the official representatives of religion. Sometimes from mere ignorance or unreasoning fear of anything new, but also sometimes from unworthy, selfish motives, religious leaders and organizations have all too often stood

in the way of progress. They have even taken part in political struggles on the side of reaction and stagnation. In such cases the remedy is not a repudiation of religion. Religion itself must repudiate such unworthy representatives, and must follow more enlightened leaders.

Religion must stand firm in its insistence on subordinating the physical and material to the spiritual, the temporal to the eternal. It must not yield an inch to secularism and materialism. It must recognize, however, that its own ends include the physical and social welfare of men here and now. It must not allow secular or political movements to monopolize the fight against poverty, disease and ignorance. It must claim this fight as its own and take the lead in it. God's will is not that men should be hungry or sick or ignorant.

Concern for the world to come does not require indifference to human needs in this world. If there is a life beyond this, in which the wrongs of this world will be made right, those who enjoy its blessings will be those who in this life have devoted themselves to God's will. The service of man is an essential part of the service of God, and the surest way to gain His blessing both here and hereafter.

Many important matters, of course, have not even been mentioned in this paper. Perhaps enough has been said, however, to indicate that religion and science not only can live together in peace but can work together to their mutual advantage. When religion is enlightened and purified by science, and science is disciplined and directed in its application by religion, then and only then will human life be what it ought to be and can be; then and only then will the will of God be done on earth.



Book Review

AFRICA TODAY. Edited by C. Grove Haines. Published by the H. John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U.S.A. Distributed in Great Britain by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London, 1955. Price \$6 (£2-8-0).

This able exposition of the problems of Africa today by American, African and British scholars, and by noted British officials such as Sir Philip Mitchell, the ex-Governor of Kenya, is introduced by Lord Hailey, the author of the monumental *African Survey*, published before the last war. But unfortunately North Africa, which is of primary interest to the Muslim world, and the Sudan are only mentioned in a cursory fashion, and North Africa is treated from an international aspect.

The writers are on the whole progressive. They show a sympathetic interest in the autonomous movements in North Africa. They make excellent pleas for the discussion of African problems at the United Nations, the which organization in their view has been beneficial to the African peoples. They point out that this is so in spite of the contrary attitude of the French and South Africans, who have hardened in their resolution to put the hands of the clock back as a result of the resentment they felt at outside interference in what they maintained were internal matters.

Dr. Kofi A. Busia's chapter, "The Gold Coast and Nigeria on the Road to Self-Government" is a first-class contribution by an African, and is possibly the most important section of this book. Sir Philip Mitchell's lucid writings on Mau Mau and his article, "Africa and the West in Historical Perspective" are also of great value to a student of African affairs. Islam, as usual, receives its pride of place in the matter of criticism at the hands of a Christian missionary scholar, Dr. George W. Carpenter, who is the Executive Secretary, Africa Committee, Division of Foreign Missions, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Dr. Carpenter shows remarkable bigotry and a willingness to repeat all the old clichés and prejudices against Islam and the Muslims. This is bad enough. What astonishes one is that he parades his ignorance about Islam and accepts the responsible task of writing the sub-section on Islam (pp. 91-99). He says by way of mitigation, "It is only fair to add that the author claims no competence whatever in respect to Islam. Twenty-seven years of missionary experience in the Belgian Congo and a little knowledge of other areas have afforded him first-hand acquaintance with African Christianity. But Islam was not a living force in

these parts, so the present discussion is based on books, documents and discussions with colleagues”.

It would be interesting to know how many of Dr. Carpenter's “colleagues” were Muslims, or perhaps he does not use the word “colleague” in its all-embracing sense to include Muslim missionaries but only in its narrowest sense in reference to Christian missionaries to the exclusion of all others.

Dr. Carpenter quotes from the writings of Mr. J. Spencer Trimingham on Muslims in the Sudan and Ethiopia. The painstaking, well-documented but prejudiced works of this authority can hardly by themselves be considered to be sufficient evidence on which to condemn Islam or the practising Muslims. Readers of Mr. Mekki ‘Abbas’s impressive book, *The Sudan Question*, London, 1952, will know how the Christian missionaries used pressure on the Sudan Government in order to keep the Muslim missionaries out of Southern Sudan. The National Unionist Party of the Sudan has to some degree countered these activities, and the question of Muslim teaching in Southern Sudan is now being discussed in the Sudan Parliament.

Dr. Carpenter says that in parts of East and West Africa “... the activity of the agencies of Islamic advance vary from complete apathy to intense and successful propaganda. Fully trained professional Moslem missionaries — Africans all — are found in some places. Elsewhere holy men and teachers win personal renown and attract followers. Again, itinerant traders, notably the Hausa, may be effective agents of propaganda. It is noticeable that in parts of West Africa Islam is found chiefly along the main roads rather than in sequestered communities. The Mahdist cult especially is being spread westward...”

This writer says that many of the adherents of the Muslim religion in Central Africa are of pure African stock, without even a fictitious descent from any Arab ancestors. He says that some regard Islam as a political system, “... a potential reinforcement in their struggle for autonomy, for freedom from colonial rule, or perhaps merely for superiority over their neighbours. To others Islam is primarily a religion, appealing partly because it comes to them from within Africa, not from Europe... and because it promises salvation without imposing high ethical standards”. He quotes Mr. Trimingham, who says, “Muslims place extreme emphasis on the externals of religion and make no important ethical demands. They have a unified and attainable religious social code of behaviour”. Does Dr. Carpenter really believe that those of his compatriots responsible for dropping the atom bomb on Japanese civilians even went as far as observing the external appearance of the Christian commandment “Thou shalt not kill”. If the truth be stated, the people of the world on the whole are all guilty of misusing their heritage, and in making these statements Dr. Carpenter lays himself open to repartee. A simile has it that you should remove the moat in your own eye before attempting to remove the beam in the eye of another. After the concentration camps and gas chambers of Europe, surely in all humility the Christians are in no position to belittle the Muslims, whose greatest faults are lack of a sound economic policy, lack of unity and lack of sufficient objective self-criticism. But with all their faults the Muslims of today are not responsible for the major wars or imperialistic expansions of the past fifty years.

Dr. Carpenter gives five points against Islam and four in its favour. The five points against Islam are:

(1) “Islam is intensely conservative.” He maintains that fatalism has replaced Islam’s early creative genius.

(2) “Islamic education is restricted in aim and content.” (The restriction implies the mere recitations of the Qur’ān in Arabic in African Qur’ānic schools.)

(3) “Islam is a man’s world in which the place of women is extremely low.”

(4) “The Islamic world tends to regard the West with hostility and defiance, not mixed with envy.” Thus it offers an anti-Western rallying point in Africa.

It is worth while noting that another contributor to this book, Dr. Glora M. Wysner (of the International Missionary Council) disagrees with Dr. Carpenter on this point. In her “Commentary” she maintains that in Africa “... the colonial powers have given every consideration to Islam, in fact they have often furthered it by their attitude to it”. It is a pity that the authors of this book did not allow a practising African Muslim to devote a chapter to Islam and the Muslims in Africa. They should have followed the American University publications in devoting a great deal of space to the Arab-Muslim world. All the Muslims demand is that a fair and completely objective statement should be made of their religion.

(5) Dr. Carpenter maintains that “Islam reinforces and perpetuates lines of segregation, especially between religious groups, instead of working toward a larger total integration. Personal religious or political freedom has no place in the Islamic system.” He goes further to say, “Thus the acceptance of Islam by an African people is apt to represent, for the present at least, an irrevocable choice in favour of the old ways against the new”.

These statements are patently full of fallacies. In the sub-continent of India the Hindu untouchables embrace Islam in order to avoid segregation. The Muslim nationalists in Egypt, the Sudan and North Africa are leading their peoples on the path of progress. The same observations apply to Somaliland. Muslim education is highly developed in parts of East Africa, notably in Zanzibar and Mombasa, where a new Muslim intelligentsia is rapidly emerging. It is the conservative religious elements, not the Muslim intelligentsia, that have been used by the French and British to fight the vast majority of progressive Muslims.

Dr. Carpenter lists the four following points in favour of Islam:

(1) Lack of colour prejudice or race prejudice.

(2) “Islam is profoundly conscious of God.”

(3) “Its insistence on sobriety, self-control and personal dignity is an element of strength. The temperate lives of Moslems often contrast favourably to those of other social groups — including Christians — in the same community.”

(4) “The universality of Arabic as a means of communication throughout the Islamic world...”

On point two, Dr. Carpenter maintains that although the insistence on the unity and sovereignty of God and the injunction for the Muslim to indulge in frequent prayer and the dependence on God and the definiteness of Islam are strong in its favour, “it involves weakness as well as strength in that it leads to fatalism and saps initiative and personal responsibility”. Dr. Carpenter would do well to read the writings of the Egyptian Premier, Colonel Jamal ‘Abd al-Nasir, on this last point. All the emerging Muslim politicians can hardly be accused of avoiding “personal responsibility” when they are, if anything, too prone to shoulder too much

responsibility and not to know how much power to delegate to their subordinates.

Another writer in the book, Dr. Wysner, believes that Islam is spreading in Africa, "... because it is easier for a pagan to become a Muslim than to become a Christian". She does think that Islam will produce "significant changes in the moral, social and economic life of the people". Her reason for this is that the pagan converted to Islam takes many of his superstitions with him.

She notes that many Christians have been converted to Islam, and quotes a report that 2,000 Muslim missionaries have been sent out from al-Azhar to work in other parts of Africa since World War II. She notes, "Many of them (the Muslims) belong to the Ahmadiya movement, which originated in India". But this writer says that the impact of Islam in Africa has often been superficial and the African Muslims are considered to be unorthodox by other Muslims.

In talking of polygamy, Dr. Wysner admits that Islam curbed excessive polygamy. She maintains that 85 per cent of the education in Africa is in the hands of Christians (this figure seems an exaggeration; does it include Egyptian education?). Credit is, however, given by this writer to the Muslims for providing the Africans with three written African languages derivative from Arabic — Swahili, Hausa and Fulani.

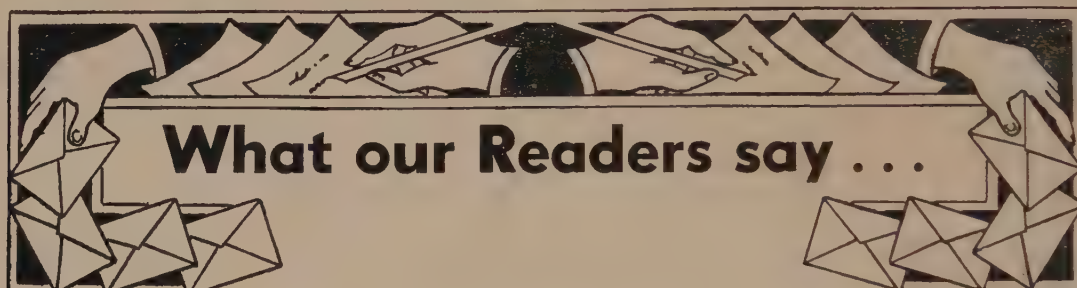
The need to deal in detail with these few pages on Islam has prevented a proper appreciation of this work as a whole. For instance, the chapter on "French Africa and French

Union" by Mr. Kenneth Robinson, of Nuffield College, Oxford University, contains a plea for more autonomy for the French-administered protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia, although he rather unfortunately speculates on the relative calm in Algeria which has now been blasted away by the revolt of the Algerian Liberation Army.

Sir Percy Mitchell, in his essay, "Africa and the West in Historical Perspective," gives a fascinating but exaggerated picture of the Kikuyu leader, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, to whom he imputes a will to work on pacific Ghandian lines. He very properly maintains that if Kenyatta had not been cold-shouldered by the British Colonial Office in the nineteen-twenties, things might have been different. It is rather surprising that Sir Percy ignores the great organizational work of Mr. Peter Koinage, and the younger and active members of the Kenya Africa Union, such as Mr. Murumbi and Mr. D. Kimanthi, the guerilla leader of the Mau Mau movement.

Mr. Guy Malengreau, in his essay, "Recent Developments in Belgian Africa," gives a brilliant apology for Belgian imperialism in the Congo, but he admits that "... there does exist a racial barrier in social and personal relations". Another of the contributors notes that Africans from Ruanda-Urundi, Belgian-administered territory, are not given facilities for the education of their *élite* in European universities as do the British and in some cases the French.

On the whole this is an excellent, if over-cautious, book. It is a serious and comprehensive study of Africa today.



MUSLIM COUNTRIES SHOULD ENACT LAWS ABOUT POLYGAMY

4-c North Range, Calcutta 17, India.
26th March 1955.

Dear Sir,

Recently a drive against polygamy was started by the women of West Pakistan. It has received some support from a section of the Press. The visit of Madame Dorriyya Shafiq, the Egyptian feminist leader, gave a further impetus to this agitation. Extremists have even gone to the extent of prescribing polyandry as a counterblast to the evil of polygamy. Such utterances are really, to say the least, unhealthy. The subject, no doubt, is of great importance, and I trust you will permit me to express my views about polygamy in Islam.

Plurality of wives was a recognised institution among all ancient Eastern nations. Polygamy was practised by the Israelites even before the time of Moses. History bears ample evidence that the existence of polygamy depended upon various circumstances and conditions of society. The sheer force of circumstances drove people to polygamy in the East,

the principal one being the preservation of women from starvation and destitution.

When the Prophet Muhammad commenced his ministry he found polygamy being practised, not only among his people but also among the people of the neighbouring countries. At the time of the Prophet, the status of women was deplorable, and degraded in the extreme. Under the circumstances the Prophet of Islam promulgated the laws which effected a marked improvement in the position of women. He proclaimed "respect for women" as one of the essential teachings of Islam. In the laws promulgated by him conditional marriage was completely prohibited and restraint was imposed on the plurality of wives by limiting the maximum number of contemporaneous marriages to four.

Now let us examine the verse in the Qur'an which gives permission to contract four contemporaneous marriages. The verse runs: "You may marry two, three or four wives, but no more". This passage is immediately followed by a sentence which declares: "But if you cannot deal equitably and justly with all, you shall marry only one". This subsequent line greatly curtails the scope of the preceding

passage. The words "equitably and justly" are of extreme importance. Equity (or 'Adl, the word used in this verse) in the Qur'anic teachings signifies equality of treatment in matters of lodging, clothing and other domestic requisites as well as complete equity in love, respect, affection and esteem. It is evident that absolute justice in matters of feeling is impossible. If a man takes a second wife during the continuance of the first marriage, naturally, he will be more inclined towards the new wife and will keep her in a more privileged position than the first one. But this is strictly against the teachings of the Qur'an. As it is quite impossible for a man to treat all his wives equally in all respects, we can safely conclude that the Qur'anic prescription, in reality, prohibits polygamy. To quote the late Syed Ameer 'Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, "It is earnestly to be hoped that, before long, a general synod of Muslim doctors will authoritatively declare that polygamy, like slavery, is abhorrent to the laws of Islam".

Polygamy, by all means, is a great social evil and is opposed to the general progress of civilized society and culture. Men often bypass the Qur'anic prescription of "equitable treatment" simply to satisfy their sensual lust. The time has come to uproot polygamy from among the Muslims by introducing legislative measures, if necessary. Strict restrictions must be put on Muslims desiring to contract a second union in the lifetime of the first wife. Contemporaneous marriage, under special circumstances, should not be solemnized without the permission of a court of law, and adequate legal safeguards should be provided for the protection and maintenance of neglected wives. I think the clarification of the provisions of Muslim law relating to polygamy and imposing strict restrictions on plurality of wives by the Arab and other Muslim countries will be widely welcomed.

Yours truly,

K. M. YUSUF.

"JESUS IN HEAVEN ON EARTH"

Beirut,

The Lebanon.

3rd April 1955.

Dear Sir,

Very many thanks for the valuable book, *Jesus in Heaven on Earth*, by K. N. Ahmad. I have started reading it; it is really a very interesting book, and revealed to me so many things I knew nothing about before. Even most Muslims are still unaware of the truth of Jesus's death, and

think he was raised alive to Heaven and was to come again to continue his message on earth.

After reading this book, I would like to summarize from it some chapters into Arabic so that other friends may benefit from it.

Very truly yours,

MAJIDA SHIHADAH RIFA'I.

THE ORIGINS OF PREJUDICES AGAINST ISLAM IN THE WEST

5 Purana Paltan,
Dacca, Pakistan.

14th March 1955.

Dear Sir,

Dr. Devrient, M.D., Director of the Institute of Biological Health Methods, Postdam, in his letter in *The Islamic Review* for February 1955, under the title of "Rapprochement Between Islam and Christianity", reveals what ignorance could do in creating prejudice about Islam in the West even in the matter of cleanliness, rightly characterized as godliness. Ignorance, coupled with prejudice and fanaticism, can be rightly considered a fruitful source of misunderstanding between the peoples of the world. King Ferdinand's wrath against the Muslims can be understood, but his reasons for cutting the supply of water for the Muslims of Granada were nothing but crass ignorance about the hygienic necessity of ablution and cleanliness.

But the world has since realized how wrong King Ferdinand was. The Muslim ablution for the five daily prayers to God has certainly great hygienic value. The parts of the body washed five times a day for the daily prayers are such as have great importance in the domain of causing diseases for the human body. Regular washing or cleansing of these parts helps the preservation of health and the soothing of nerves. And yet this was so wrathfully but ignorantly indicted!

The old prejudices, however, are bound to give way to rational appreciation of the simple, scientific teachings underlying the various institutions of Islam. Truth, like fire, must be out. Islam is based on truths. The jaundiced eye of perversion and intolerance against Islam cannot stand the test of time and scientific scrutiny for long. *Inn al-Batila kaana zahuqa* — "Verily, the falsehood must vanish", as the Qur'an rings out. Let us hope the world will see the light of Islam, as time passes, and will benefit by it.

Yours sincerely,

MIZANUR RAHMAN.

THE LEIPZIG SPRING FAIR, 1955

The Leipzig Spring Fair 1955, which took place from 27th February to 9th March, proved conclusively that Leipzig is steadily consolidating its position as the centre of international trade. The old German Fair town of Leipzig has indeed become the symbol of the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries of differing social and economic systems. The Leipzig Spring Fair 1955 was of outstanding value by further enlarging and cementing trade relations between the world markets of East and West.

The great international importance of the Fair was emphasized by the many visits of government delegations, particularly that of the delegation of the Soviet Union. Besides the official delegations of the countries of the democratic world market and of many Western countries, numerous members of governments, parliamentarians and personalities in the economic life of the Western countries visited the Fair.

Altogether 9,767 German and foreign exhibitors displayed their goods in 33 Fair buildings and halls on a covered area of 175,077 sq. metres, to which must be added 83,054 sq. metres of exhibition space in the open air. There were 1,096 foreign exhibitors from 36 countries, including 997 from Western countries occupying an area

of 15,307 sq. metres. West Germany, represented by 1,662 exhibitors and occupied an area of 275,345 sq. metres, more than twice as much as in the last year.

Corresponding to the extended exhibition area the number of visitors from West Germany and abroad also increased. More than 18,000 people came from West German and West Berlin, and nearly 10,000 buyers from 54 countries all over the world visited the Fair. Altogether there were over 560,000 visitors.

The turnover in foreign and home-German trade of the German Democratic Republic amounted to 345,500,000 U.S. dollars. This sum includes \$241,250,000 of exports from the German Democratic Republic (\$141,250,000 from Eastern and \$75,250,000 to Western countries). In home-German trade contracts for delivery of 150,000,000 "clearing units" were concluded.

The turnover of imports of the German Democratic Republic amounted to \$104,250,000. This amount includes contracts to the value of \$31,500,000 with Eastern and \$46,500,000 with Western countries. In home-German trade goods to the value of 109 "clearing units" have been bought from West German exhibitors.

The Fourth Annual Congress OF Muslims of the British Isles 1955

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There will be a full programme of lectures, discussions and games. An excursion to a place of interest will also be arranged. There is a great opportunity for all the intending visitors to renew old friendships and make new ones with Muslims from various countries. Last year there were more than ten nationalities represented in the small gathering of the Congress. Those who took part in the Congress rightly felt it was unique in many respects. Do not miss it this year. With a view to enabling more friends to take part in the Congress, it has been decided to hold the Congress on Sunday and the August Bank Holiday (31st July and 1st August, 1955)

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